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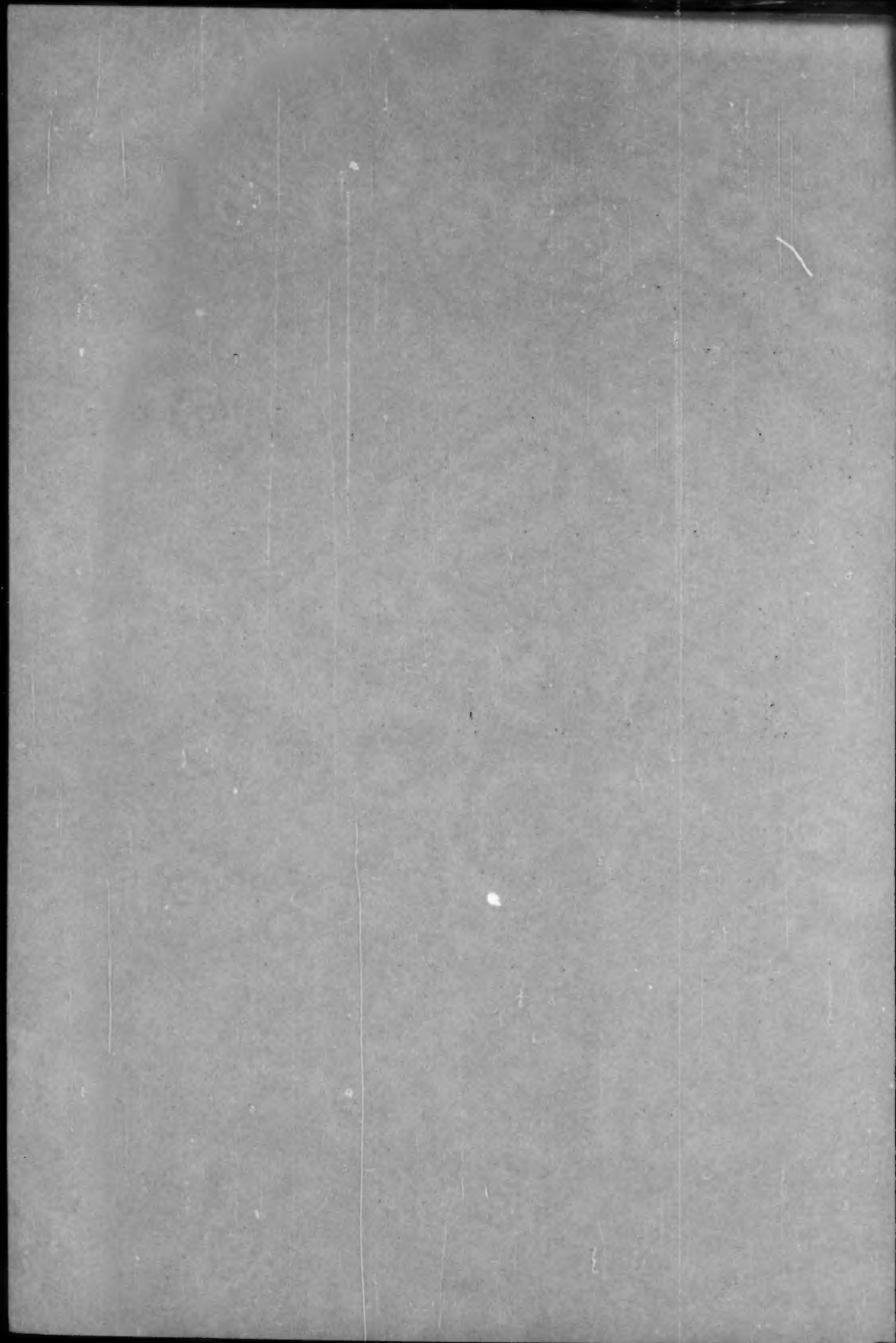
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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VOLUME L

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THE MOTION OF *PHÈDRE* FROM ACT III INTO ACT IV

AN ALTERNATIVE READING

By Nathan Edelman

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

A FLAW, in Racine, is a disenchantment. He has habituated us to expect a unity and continuity of effect perfectly sustained, and if the compelling onward motion of his tragic poetry is obstructed, it is as if a spell had been broken. But it may happen that the obstruction has arisen from our way of reading the verse, and is not lodged in the verse itself.

A new "imperfection" in *Phèdre*, which Professor Keller has provocatively called to our attention in a recent issue of this journal,¹ deserves close reconsideration. A dislocation seems to set in between scene 2 of Act IV, where Thésée vents his fury on Hippolyte, and the end of Act III, where father and son have previously confronted one another, momentarily in the presence of Phèdre. In Act IV, the youth approaches the incensed Thésée and inquires:

Puis-je vous demander quel funeste nuage,
Seigneur, a pu troubler votre auguste visage?
N'osez-vous confier ce secret à ma foi? (1041-43)

Is this not, we are asked, a strange note? Racine has admirably prepared this scene; reluctant to put on the stage a father too rashly prone to credit false reports about his son, as in the Greek tragedy, he created at the end of Act III a situation in which Thésée, ahead of any accusations by Cénone, developed in his own mind some sense of suspicion about Hippolyte. The latter then has witnessed, in the earlier encounter, the effects of a "funeste nuage" on his father's "auguste visage." Although Thésée has suffered a new shock, between Act III and scene 2 of Act IV, Hippolyte still has no knowledge of what transpired during that interval; he cannot but believe that the sinister "nuage" he saw gathering in Act III is still oppressing the king. Why then does he seem to formulate his question as if he had not earlier observed Thésée's dismay and as if Thésée were not aware that he had observed it? Would Hippolyte, the pure young man, be dissembling? At one point (p. 103), Professor Keller seems ready to go so far as to say that Hippolyte's query is not an "honest question," but he does not dwell on this issue. More persistently and

1. "Error and Invention in Racine: *Phèdre*, IV, 2," *RR*, I. (1959), 99-106.

fundamentally, he would underscore it as a "mistake." It does not make sense.

But how could it have made sense to the poet? At an early stage in the composition of the play, Professor Keller argues, Racine decided to retain from Euripides the material in scene 2 of Act IV, indispensable for the conclusion; then, after brilliantly laying new foundations for it in Act III, he apparently failed to adjust the borrowed material to the new. But, we may ask, if he did not hear any creaking in the transition, what did he hear?

In the tense final scenes of Act III—the only occasion on which all three major characters are brought together—they meet gropingly in an atmosphere of incomprehension, suspicion, and foreboding. They observe one another apprehensively, and make a series of fatal errors. Already in scene 3, the chain of reactions has started. "Thésée est arrivé," Phèdre hears, "Thésée est en ces lieux." She dreads to confront "son fils avec lui," to face "le témoin de ma flamme adultère" watching "de quel front j'ose aborder son père." Œnone is for taking desperate measures of deceit. Phèdre at first would not "opprimer et noircir l'innocence," but presently Thésée makes his appearance, accompanied by Hippolyte, who has already joined him. Whereas Œnone's glance immediately is leveled upon the king—"on vient; je vois Thésée"—to make sure that he has not yet learned anything, the king's distraught wife has eyes only for the youth on whom her fate rests—"Ah! je vois Hippolyte"—while the latter scrutinizes her own look, with anxiety and horror, to see what she will determine to say to the king. Everything in him recoils at overwhelming his father with what he will later reveal, only to Aricie, as a "mystère odieux." But Phèdre's solitary and unrequited passion has turned the unapproachable Hippolyte into a "monstre effroyable à mes yeux" and an "ennemi" and, fatefully, she misreads his innermost feeling—"Dans ses yeux insolents je vois ma perte écrite." In what has been aptly described as a crucial "malentendu sur un regard,"² she chooses, thinking herself at bay, to let Œnone do her worst.

The rest follows swiftly. Phèdre withdraws, turning the joy of homecoming into consternation for Thésée. She cuts him off—"Arrêtez, Thésée"—with brief cryptic utterances, for Œnone to develop later—"Vous êtes offensé," "Je ne dois désormais songer qu'à me cacher"—and disappears within (scene 4). These words, spoken also under the glare of Hippolyte's searching look, in a way are meant for him as well, like the veiled beginning of a confession he could expect Thésée to hear presently. In his turn, Hippolyte necessarily misunderstands her purpose, and is ap-

2. Jean Pommier, *Aspects de Racine* (Nizet: 1954), p. 196. It is to be noted that Racine found a powerful suggestion for this exchange in Hippolytus' threats to the Nurse in Euripides' play, lines 661-63.

palled (scene 5). His immediate reaction is to flee, not to witness the catastrophe in his father's house and—surely, this is evident—not to be involved. Ambiguously, in his turn, he reminds Thésée: "Je ne la cherchois pas." "C'est vous," he brings home to him, not without irony, it was you who led Phèdre, with Aricie, to Troezen, and conferred upon me the charge of watching over them here. It is as if he were clearing himself, in advance of a confession by Phèdre, and sensed dimly the possibility of his being implicated. Begging leave to disappear, forthwith, in order to slay monsters and be worthy of his father, he ends with the disquieting wish that a "beau trépas," if not a triumph, "Prouve à tout l'avenir que j'étois votre fils."³ Stunned, by blow after blow, Thésée now reacts, in the thirty-five lines that come next (953–87). Hippolyte has declared evasively: "Phèdre peut seule expliquer ce mystère." Thésée would probe further:

Parlez. Phèdre se plaint que je suis outragé.
 Qui m'a trahi? Pourquoi ne suis-je pas vengé?
 La Grèce, à qui mon bras fut tant de fois utile,
 A-t-elle au criminel accordé quelque asile?
 Vous ne répondez point. (979–83)

But he still receives no reply.

It is chiefly with Thésée's full-length speech, which develops his state of mind in all its complexity, that Professor Keller cannot reconcile Hippolyte's "Puis-je vous demander . . . ?" in Act IV. The difficulty, I would suggest, arises partly from a question of fact: how much of his father's speech did Hippolyte actually hear? Professor Keller, it is clear, acts on the assumption that Thésée speaks all of the thirty-five lines to Hippolyte. On that basis, of course, it would become wondrous strange that Hippolyte should belatedly venture his question in Act IV after having heard the king bewail the "horreur" and "terreur" of his situation in Act III. But such a reading seems untenable, and not only because it creates this incongruity.

The whole first part of the passage, opening with "Que vois-je? Quelle horreur dans ces lieux répandue," is an expression of paralyzed, speechless grief and bewilderment at "l'horreur que j'inspire," at the "frémissements" with which Thésée is greeted upon his return, after he has escaped mortal dangers "dans des cavernes sombres"—would, he laments, that he were still in the cavernous prison. Nothing in those twenty-seven lines shows any direct address to Hippolyte. He speaks in the third person of "ma famille éperdue," and his only interpellation—"O, ciel"—is to the heavens, on whom he calls to witness this woeful homecoming. Psy-

3. Quotations follow the Mesnard edition, for the reader's convenience. But here "l'avenir" replaces "l'univers," in accordance with more recent scholarly editions, which are followed also for the punctuation of line 1642, quoted later.

chologically, it is more deeply true that all these words should express the inner agitation of his astonished heart. He has been cruelly, swiftly, repeatedly stricken. He does not understand, and stands dismayed, before his son and in front of the palace quarters into which the queen has just disappeared. He cannot burst into loquacious recriminations with Hippolyte, but needs to recover from the rapid succession of shocks and this sudden feeling of solitude.

Then, rousing himself to seek out the cause, he abruptly turns on Hippolyte, in the lines quoted above, asking for that explanation of Phèdre's hints which Hippolyte has been refusing to yield. There is a brusque change of tone, from grief to insistent inquiry, indignation, and authority ("Parlez"). This is the first point at which Hippolyte is in fact addressed directly, and the first at which the live dialogue is resumed in its urgent course, with Thésée driving his son back, after a poignant pause, to what he senses is the crucial secret.

Again, after Thésée concludes his queries with "Vous ne répondez pas," it would seem inconceivable that Hippolyte should overhear the rest:

Mon fils, mon propre fils
Est-il d'intelligence avec mes ennemis?
Entrons. C'est trop garder un doute qui m'accable.
Connoissons à la fois le crime et le coupable.
Que Phèdre explique enfin le trouble où je la voi. (983-87)

"Entrons," like "connoissons," of course has nothing to do with Hippolyte, who is not being invited to trail Thésée. More seriously, it seems out of the question that Hippolyte should hear his father ask whether "mon fils" has conspired with the enemy (especially after he has indeed been "d'intelligence" with Aricie), that he should then not react to such a suspicion, and that Thésée—the monarch, and the tormented father—should brook such a devastatingly blank, disrespectful, and cruel indifference. Could Racine possibly have pictured his Thésée countenancing a silent admission of guilt by his son, and withdrawing in the face of it? The king, rather, keeps his suspicion to himself, and goes within to clear it up. When Hippolyte remains alone and Racine finally can let him express himself freely (scene 6), his first utterance is:

Où tendoit ce discours qui m'a glacé d'effroi?
Phèdre, toujours en proie à sa fureur extrême,
Veut-elle s'accuser et se perdre elle-même? (988-90)

Still there is no reaction to the king's suspicion. This terrifying "discours" was not Thésée's, for if Hippolyte had heard it through, he would know well enough "où tendoit ce discours," which was explicit. As is clear in context, and as Professor Keller recognizes, the "effroi" was inspired by Phèdre's seeming threat to confess.

On such a reading, therefore, all Hippolyte has heard his father say is "Quel est l'étrange accueil qu'on fait à votre père, / Mon fils?" (921-22), "Vous, mon fils, me quitter?" (927), and the four and a half lines opening with "Parlez." Of the direct exchange that he has had with Thésée, the beginning and the end bear on the hidden meaning of Phèdre's words. It is the basic question of which he is aware and which, with natural and credible persistence, he has had to leave unanswered between his father and himself. His words in Act IV, then, lose much of their alleged callousness; they do not jar with unheard lamentations and suspicions of Thésée.

But still, lamentations and suspicions aside, has Hippolyte not seen a storm gathering in Act III? Does not a postponed query about the "funeste nuage," in Act IV, strike a discord? Much depends on how we understand the youth's involvement in the storm. Unquestionably, with deep filial emotion, he is affected by the king's plight. But, in the very midst of it all, he has woes of his own.

These woes are most acute. Repeatedly, his impulse is to flee.⁴ He will meet his death when finally making off, unwillingly, under Thésée's imprecations—"Fuis, traître [...]. Fuis [...]. Fuis, dis-je [...]." (1053-63)—whereas, ironically, his whole drive was to flee *to* Thésée. This is forcefully brought out in the very first scene of the play, which imparts a sense of great disquiet, with the constant use of *partir* and *fuir*. Right off, Hippolyte shows "le doute mortel dont je suis agité"; "je pars," he says, in order to seek my absent father. However, as he talks under the pressure of Thérémène's questioning, he confesses that his departure is a flight—"Je fuis, je l'avoûrai, cette jeune Aricie." He will not admit that he loves her, for a set of reasons that, revealingly, lead up to Thésée as the obstacle: he protests that he could not love that very daughter of vanquished enemies to whom the king has rigorously denied all right to marriage and progeny. It is clear that he does, but dares not, love Aricie. As Thérémène, brushing aside his denials, concludes:

Il n'en faut point douter: vous aimez, vous brûlez;
Vous périssez d'un mal que vous dissimulez.
La charmante Aricie a-t-elle su vous plaire? (135-37)

and as Hippolyte, without further denial, replies:

Thérémène, je pars, et vais chercher mon père (138),

we realize that this quest for his father is linked with his flight from the proscribed princess. He has not been consciously dissembling but in his "doute mortel" his will is not whole or his purpose clearcut. He would believe that he flees from the princess out of respect for his father's will,

4. Cf. Raymond Picard, *Pléiade* ed. of Racine's *Œuvres complètes* (Gallimard: 1951), I, 1168 (note 2 to p. 767).

but his father's orders left him in charge of this captive, and to run off is in itself a disobedience. He would believe that he flees from the princess in order to escape from her, but he could do so without necessarily setting out on a search for his father, who has long been missing and thoroughly searched for by Thérémène. He would believe that this new search is commanded by his "devoir," yet admits to himself that it is a flight, that "Hippolyte en partant fuit une . . . ennemie" (49). We feel that, as he strains toward his father, it is with the confused hope to confess, and to remove the obstacle to a love not now permitted—but held out to him by Thérémène as not reprehensible.

For this is exactly what he strives to do when Thésée suddenly returns. No sooner has the son joined the father than his preoccupation becomes, storm or no storm, to confront the king with the "doute mortel" in his own mind. Is it an injustice to the unhappy Hippolyte, consumed with love, to suggest that although the threatening clash between Thésée and Phèdre pains him for reasons of filial sympathy, it is, to him, especially ominous as a threat to his private hopes?

Dieux! que dira le Roi? Quel funeste poison
L'amour a répandu sur toute sa maison!
Moi-même, plein d'un feu que sa haine réprouve,
Quel il m'a vu jadis, et quel il me retrouve!
De noirs pressentiments viennent m'épouvanter. (988-95)

That is his own "nuage." The tension moreover obstructs, postpones the confrontation he urgently needs to have with his father. As he sees him go in the direction followed by the queen, he does not hear the king's silent thoughts but can surmise he will not be satisfied until he receives an explanation from Phèdre. Whatever the queen does, there is no time to lose. To Hippolyte, the first thing that he must do, while his father, inside, may be drawing close to the shattering truth, is to devise

par quelle heureuse adresse
Je pourrai de mon père émouvoir la tendresse,
Et lui dire un amour qu'il peut vouloir troubler,
Mais que tout son pouvoir ne sauroit ébranler. (997-1000)

This is not comic, though it could be turned into comedy, like the clicking of any mechanism; it is a self-centeredness of young passion, in a tragedy where all are solitary. Racine is at his best here, and goes deep, portraying an obsession and temptation crossed, complicated, but not repressed by a family calamity. Hippolyte has barely had time to bring Thésée into the palace when, in the midst of the storm developing over his father's head, he speaks not only of Phèdre, as we saw, but also brings in an extraneous reminder that it was by Thésée's orders, after all, that he was thrown together with Aricie. Why this here? Is it not to begin

preparing the way for a confession about Aricie? In the same speech, he returns to a possibility foreshadowed in his protestations of Act I, where he explained to Thérémène his contempt for the debasing effects of love: they would make me the more contemptible, he said then, because no heroic exploits have given me the right to indulge in amorous weaknesses, as in my father's case. Now, in his father's presence, he proposes in fact to go forth in search of exploits, to emulate the king. The "heureuse adresse" by which he hopes to move Thésée, at the close of Act III, is one which he has already obscurely contemplated.

How he would have devised it is not given to us to know, and it is dramatically far better that it should be so, for one of the developments that heighten the poignancy of Act IV is that Hippolyte, promptly seeking out his father again, with an "heureuse adresse" now impatiently all worked out, swiftly experiences the futility of his preparations, at his very first words. Little time has elapsed, just enough to allow Cénone to launch her plot during the intermission, and to make an end of it in the preliminary scene of Act IV. Has she heard or seen him come? She is suddenly in a great rush to return to the queen, and Hippolyte may well have caught sight of her.⁵ At any rate, he has returned straight to these quarters, knowing for what purpose the king is there. Eager to broach the subject that preoccupies him, he finds Thésée in a state of rage. Again, there is an exchange of looks. As Thésée for a moment watches him in wrathful silence, Hippolyte scans Thésée's "visage," and breaks in with his question, before the "nuage" bursts: his father's stare is not the same; it is more intense, free from speculation, and directed fully on him.⁶ No talk of Aricie is possible; Thésée's fury must first be met. Has Phèdre, or Cénone, told Thésée of the queen's passion, and if so, does he hold Hippolyte in some way implicated or tainted? It may still be that no one has dared to say it outright—how can Hippolyte be sure? But then what is the meaning of Thésée's look? Hippolyte needs to know, but is loath to name the unspeakable misfortune or be perhaps the one to open the king's eyes to it. Thésée must be the first to refer to it. Hippolyte's brief question is sensitively adjusted to this conflict between his wish and his reluctance to probe. Openly, he can admit only to an awareness of something "funeste" visible on the king's face. But his inquiring words indirectly and discreetly bespeak at the same time a deeper awareness of things painful to mention. "Puis-je vous demander . . . ?" expresses not only "May I ask . . . ?" but "*Can I . . . ?*" *Pouvoir*, used a sec-

5. We know from Subigny that originally Thésée recited at this point a monologue of outcries and lamentations, later suppressed by Racine. But it would not seriously alter this supposition, as the monologue could be a pause during which Hippolyte hesitated before advancing toward his father.

6. Professor Keller raises this point (p. 101), but only to dismiss it, on the basis of the assumption, criticized above, that Hippolyte heard all of Thésée's speech.

ond time in the sentence, sustains this shading of meaning; "a pu troubler" carries an overtone of the inner thought: "what cloud may have discomposed his countenance?" and in direct address conveys: "what baleful cloud, Sire, can have discomposed (has had the power to discompose) your countenance?" More strongly still, "N'osez-vous confier ce secret" intimates the unmentionable. Hippolyte can go no further. With "à ma foi," his query ends on a note of respectful but close solidarity which, movingly, rings true, only to be drowned out by Thésée's instantaneous reply. Thésée is incensed by this "N'osez-vous . . . ?"—to him the height of insolent hypocrisy—and it is to this that he retorts as he finally lashes out at Hippolyte: "Perfide, oses-tu bien te montrer devant moi?" (1044). And again: "Tu m'oses présenter une tête ennemie" (1049), "Ne viens point braver ici ma haine" (1053).

A "mistake"? Would that lesser dramatic poets had more often blundered in this fashion! Hippolyte's three lines blend into what precedes, and what follows. They harmonize with the poetry of the whole in other ways, and especially through "nuage," which is not a phrase or rhyme of the moment. The "funeste nuage" that Hippolyte distressingly perceives over Thésée's royal head turns into a "nuage odieux" (1431) that will prove to be the undoing of the youth himself; it overcasts the whole tragedy, lowering at the end over Phèdre, as she sees all recede into the growing darkness of death:

Déjà je ne vois plus qu'à travers un nuage
Et le ciel, et l'époux que ma présence outrage . . . (1641-42)

Professor Keller wonders how a "mistake," so glaring to him, could have escaped Racine's notice, and explains that the poet must have retained Hippolyte's three lines as part of the scene borrowed from Euripides. But would a Racine be satisfied with an unexamined transfer of this kind? The Greek Hippolytus rushes out, on hearing Theseus' outcries, and indeed asks him for an explanation, as Hippolyte will do, but not, it seems to me, "with words closely resembling those in Racine," as Professor Keller argues (p. 102). Euripides has Hippolytus urge his father much more freely to speak; although Hippolytus may already be doing so with some ambiguity, the problem is very different, and the tone not the same at all, as he is inquiring at this point about Phaedra's death; he wonders not at his father's stormy countenance but at his silence, a stress that Gabriel Gilbert, for one, imitated pointedly in his *Hypolite*: "Ce silence m'estonne [. . .]." It is a curious point that the one detail that may have struck Racine in this passage of his French predecessor is the added suggestion of a "nuage":

Loin de mon pere, ô Ciel! destourne la tempeste,
reinforced by this further suggestion (for Phèdre's dying words as well)

in one of Gilbert's best lines, spoken at the end of his tragedy by Thésée:

La splendeur de mes iours se couvre d'un nuage.⁷

A "careless borrowing" (p. 103) from Euripides would have prevented Hippolyte's question from expressing felicitously, as I think it does, the predicament at hand. Far from being purely vestigial and obstructive, in Racine, it grows out of the motion of the whole play and his version of the legend, and so necessarily that one must go back to Act I, scene 1 for its source.

If the question was uncalled-for and superfluous, why not a final test? Shall we try to correct the passage by eliminating the excrescence? It would be then that a true dislocation would be seen to set in. Thésée would be pouncing immediately on Hippolyte—a burly conceit of melodrama, next to Racine's. It would be felt how necessary it was that Hippolyte should first seek him out, and strain to draw him out, in fulfillment of the taut psychologic and tragic build-up.

7. *Hypolite, ou Le Garçon insensible* (1647), pp. 86-87, 126.

JOVELLANOS' *EL DELINCUENTE HONRADO*

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LITERARY historians have been less than kind to Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos' *El delincuente honrado* (1773). A play enjoying a certain popularity in its author's time, it began to encounter severe criticism in the nineteenth century, although its humanitarianism continued to please;¹ and more recently it has generally received only passing mention in broader discussions of Jovellanos, whose reputation admittedly rests on other, more solid bases. Its sentimentalism has made it a useful pawn in the game of finding "preromantics"; critics not engaged in this task have tended to believe with C. E. Kany that the play, "like most of [Jovellanos'] poetry, is mediocre, uninspired, and disappointing."² Such summary judgments, with vague references to the influences of Montesquieu and Diderot, cannot discharge the critic's obligation to a play which, in fact, is neither as novel as some would have it nor as devoid of interest as the majority seems to assume. At present, when interest in the period which gave birth to modern Spain seems to be increasing, a reexamination of *El delincuente honrado* may serve a clarifying purpose. The opinions repeated for more than a century should not be accepted unhesitatingly without analysis of the play as drama and as thought, without review and correlation of the circumstances surrounding its genesis, and without a new glance at the position of Jovellanos' work in the history of the Spanish stage. The remarks which follow are intended to provide some materials for such evaluation.

No better or more concise summary of the plot of *El delincuente honrado* could be devised than Ticknor's:

[...] a gentleman [Torcuato], [...] after repeatedly refusing a challenge, kills, in a secret duel, the infamous husband of the lady he afterwards marries [Laura]; and, being subsequently led to confess his crime in order to save a friend [Anselmo], who is arrested as the guilty party, he is condemned to death by a rigorous judge [Justo], who unexpectedly turns out to be his own father, and

1. See, for example, Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Historia de la literatura española, francesa, inglesa é italiana en el siglo XVIII: Lecciones pronunciadas en el Ateneo de Madrid* (Madrid, 1845), pp. 377-78. The Marqués de Valmar considered it an example of Jovellanos' "sensibilidad delicada" (*Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII* [Madrid, 1893], I, 428).

2. Review of *El delincuente honrado*, ed. H. Chonon Berkowitz and Samuel A. Wofsy, *MLJ*, XII (1927-28), 239. The edition reviewed (New York and London, 1927) is a textbook.

is saved from execution, but not from severe punishment, only by the royal clemency.³

The play's five acts are in prose, with a fairly close adherence to the three unities of the neoclassic stage. The time of the play extends slightly over the limit of twenty-four hours: the first act begins at 7:15 a.m. (I.ii),⁴ the fifth at 11 a.m. on the following day (V.i). Unity of place is preserved within a liberal interpretation of the concept: the scenes of the various acts are laid in the Alcázar of Segovia, which served at that time partly as a military school and as a state prison,⁵ and in which the *corregidor*, Torcuato's father-in-law, also resides with his family. These scenes are described in some detail, with indications as to the presence of furniture, books, etc., a significant concession to demands for greater realism on the stage, and one in keeping with the choice of a contemporary and well-known setting instead of the generalized hall or square of the strictest neoclassic tradition. The same attention to precision in detail is evident in Jovellanos' use of royal intervention and clemency. The king does not appear on the stage; he is, however, presumed to be at San Ildefonso, the summer quarters of the court and only two leagues from Segovia, making it possible to send two appeals to the monarch and to save the hero without greatly exceeding the limits of the unity of time.⁶ Thus in outer form the play does not conform entirely to the standards either of neoclassicism or of the later Romantic drama; some liberties with the unities, as well as the precision of the setting, separate it from the former, while the number of acts and the relative adherence to unities separate it from the latter, and the contemporary setting, from both.

One need not go far into the play to find some of the peculiarities which delight the hunters for the "preromantic." There are melodramatic scenes such as the recognition of father and son in the gloom of the pri-

3. George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1849), III, 323. The pirated Barcelona edition of 1785 [?] calls this a "caso sucedido en la ciudad de Segovia en el año de 1738" (Julio Somoza de Montsoriú, *Inventario de un jovellanista* [Madrid, 1901], p. 61). The topic is, however, of even greater contemporaneity; it deals, according to Ramón del Toro y Durán, with "los absurdos que entrañaban las pragmáticas de Felipe V, puestas rigurosamente en vigor por Carlos III" (*Jove Llanos y la reforma del teatro español en el siglo XVIII* [Gijón, 1891-92]). For investigating Toro y Durán's study, inaccessible to me, I am deeply indebted to Don Erasmo Buceta.

4. All references to *El delincuente honrado* are to act, scene, and, when appropriate, page in *Obras publicadas é inéditas de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, ed. Cándido Nocedal (Madrid, 1858), I (*Biblioteca de autores españoles* [BAE], XLVI). The orthography of all quotations in Spanish is modernized.

5. Richard Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain, in 1772 and 1773* (London, 1775), p. 83. The shifting of the scene to the prison does not therefore introduce other buildings, as supposed by Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, "Apéndice sobre la comedia española," *Obras completas* (Paris, 1845), I, 225.

6. Twiss, pp. 86-87, 341. Twiss, travelling leisurely, covers the distance from Segovia to San Ildefonso in two hours and a half; it can be supposed that persons on urgent business could do much better.

son, the tearful pleas of Laura for the salvation of her husband, and the suspense of the characters who wait for the signal of Torcuato's execution as the successful Anselmo is speeding back to them with the royal commutation. A "música militar lúgubre" is to sound as Torcuato is led off to the scaffold (V.iii, 97b). This melodramatic and sentimental tone pervades the play from the very beginning, and tears are copiously shed by the characters.⁷

Torcuato himself, illegitimate son of an unknown father, orphaned of his mother, driven to the commission of an illegal act, forced to conceal his guilt from his wife, the widow of his victim—Torcuato, ready to tear himself from this wife to expiate his guilt, ready also to sacrifice his life to save that of Anselmo, is an easily recognizable precursor of the Romantic hero pursued by his adverse destiny, or, as Rivas would have it, by *la fuerza del sino*. From the beginning of the play it is obvious that he is legally guilty and morally blameless, compelled as he has been by a hostile fate (specifically, by his antagonist's intolerable allusions to his illegitimacy) to accept a duel. A genuine moral conflict within the character would have been conceivable before the duel, or in reaching the decision to abandon Laura after having married her; but Jovellanos, with scant regard for the motivation of this decision, ignores both dramatic possibilities. There is never the slightest doubt that Torcuato will do what he must. While bewailing the fate that tears him from his wife, he does not hesitate to leave her. When informed of Anselmo's sacrifice, he does not hesitate to confess his crime. And when he discovers that the judge who condemns him is his father (and the seducer of his mother), he cheerfully adjusts to this new revelation of his destiny.

In the meantime, Don Justo, the judge, has gradually realized that the accused is his son. Once again, Jovellanos' characterization eliminates all possibility of inner conflict: Justo has already been established as an incorruptible judge, humane and enlightened, but rigid in his adherence to duty. There is no question of a conflict in him between public obligation and paternal affection. Nor is there conflict between Justo and Torcuato. Neither is oriented toward the other; the rectitude of each is such that it precludes inner conflict and forces the character *a priori* to accept what fate (destiny, duty) has in store for him. Those motivations and affections which might give rise to conflict serve only to add pathos to the submission of the characters—a pathos which finds expression in sentimentality and tears. More than a conflict of motives, there is a juxtaposition of motives of which one is known to be dominant, its virtuousness enhanced by the inevitable sacrifice of the other. Thus the action of the play, as Ticknor summarizes it, is resolved into two irreconcilable

7. Kany counts 22 mentions of *lágrimas* and 50 instances of *desdichado* or synonymous expressions (p. 238).

pathetic situations; for a solution, Jovellanos is forced to resort to a *deus* (or *rex*) *ex machina*, since he has decided to allow Torcuato to survive. The *dénouement* is of course entirely extraneous to the plot; the pathetic situations of the characters have been achieved, the father (like Abraham) has in spirit sacrificed his son, and the end which the story may take is, for dramatic purposes, well-nigh irrelevant.

The basic conflict of the play must, however, be sought on a level entirely different from the sentimental one we have heretofore observed. Jovellanos establishes a contrast between two concepts of the law, embodied in the two magistrates, Don Justo and Don Simón, the *corregidor*. Don Justo is "un magistrado filósofo, esto es, ilustrado, virtuoso y humano," while Don Simón, "esclavo de las preocupaciones comunes, y dotado de un talento y de una instrucción limitados, aprueba sin conocimiento cuanto disponen las leyes, y reprueba sin examen cuanto es contrario a ellas."⁸ In other words, Simón is unable to rise to a philosophic level on which he can judge not only individuals but also laws and institutions; his criteria are totally formalistic, and he accepts as valid whatever has been decreed by constituted authority. This position is in conflict with Justo's, since Justo not only judges individual guilt by legal standards, but also examines these standards themselves in the light of ethical principles. He is, therefore, both a minister and a critic of the society he serves; and through him Jovellanos expresses his demand for the adjustment of legal to ethical values. Don Simón is the foil to these opinions and consequently one of the major characters in the ideological struggle, although in the Torcuato-plot his role is secondary. His opinions and Justo's increase the piquancy of their situations. Simón finds that the man whose death he has so eagerly demanded is his son-in-law; Justo is forced to condemn his son in the name of a law which punishes alike the provoker and the provoked in a duel, and which, as a "magistrado filósofo," he considers unjust. Royal intervention supports Justo's philosophy of law and the lesson which Simón has been forced to learn; but let us note that the king is not moved by reason, but by the pathetic plea of Torcuato's friend, Anselmo. In a most "Enlightened" fashion, royal sentimentality tempers royal rigor.

Although *El delincuente honrado* might in places seem Romantic, it would be a mistake simply to consider it an early appearance of the dramatic system of Hugo, Rivas, and Zorrilla. It had, in its time, an entirely different significance, which can be properly evaluated only by a review of the circumstances of its composition and some of its sources. Jovellanos wrote *El delincuente* in 1773, about half-way in his ten-year sojourn as a magistrate in Seville. Prior to his arrival in 1768, he had received

8. *BAE*, XLVI, 79 (letter from Jovellanos to the abbé de Valchrétien, who translated *El delincuente honrado* into French in 1777).

the first tonsure; he was, however, also learned in humane letters and devoted to the theater. In 1769 he wrote his patriotic tragedy, *Pelayo*; and as late as 1795 he was still active in the dramatic exercises of his students at the Real Instituto Asturiano.⁹ By 1770 he had translated Racine's *Iphigénie* for performance at the Teatros Reales de los Sitios, recently founded by his protector Aranda and the scene for performances of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Marivaux, Destouches, etc.,¹⁰ not to mention Molière, whose "divinos dramas" Jovellanos especially revered.¹¹

His attitude toward the national theater is somewhat ambiguous: in 1777 he defends the productions of his countrymen from the attacks of a foreigner and expresses his esteem for Calderón, Moreto, Zamora, and Cañizares, blaming the degeneracy of the Spanish stage on the vulgar commercialism of its managers, the indifference of the government, and the rareness of that eighteenth-century shibboleth, "good taste."¹² In 1790, however, writing for the Academy of his own country and referring to the popular theater of the period, he asked:

¿Se cree, por ventura, que la inocente puericia, la ardiente juventud, la ociosa y regalada nobleza, el ignorante vulgo, pueden ver sin peligro tantos ejemplos de impudencia y grosería, de ufanía y necio pundonor, de desacato a la justicia y a las leyes, de infidelidad a las obligaciones públicas y domésticas, puestos en acción, pintados con los colores más vivos y animados con el encanto de la ilustración y con las gracias de la poesía y de la música?¹³

Jovellanos thought of the theater as primarily an aristocratic pastime, an amusement for the idle rich, designed to instruct them and keep them from less desirable activities.¹⁴

That it was not always the most edifying of pastimes is clear from the account of a contemporary English traveller, who witnessed a performance of Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén*, accompanied by an *entremés*. "Between the comedy and the farce, tonadillas are sung: these are cantatas for two, three, or four voices, the music of which is national and uncommon. . . . After this performance there is usually a fandango danced on the stage."¹⁵ The theater in Seville in 1773 boasted sixty boxes; "I was there one evening: the actors were so extremely bad, that I could not get any person to accompany me thither, so that I soon quitted it,

9. See Somoza, p. 126: "Los alumnos."

10. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época* (Madrid, 1897), pp. 68-69.

11. Jovellanos, *Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas, y sobre su origen en España*, in *Obras escogidas*, ed. Angel del Río, I (Madrid, 1955), 140.

12. *BAE*, XLVI, 80.

13. *Espectáculos* [...], *Obras escogidas*, I, 146-47.

14. *Ibid.*, II (Madrid, 1955), 15-18. Jovellanos complains that the lack of adequate spectacles in the provinces is one of the causes of the harmful afflux of the nobility to Madrid.

15. Twiss, p. 167.

and repaired to the *alameda*.¹⁶ Cadiz at that time had three theaters: an Italian theater for the performance of opera, a French theater, "the most magnificent, and the best furnished with actors of any French theatre out of France," and a Spanish theater, in which was played a translation of Voltaire's *Zaïre*.¹⁷ Such translations, especially popular in the royal theaters of the *Sitios*, catered to the neoclassic taste for French drama and opened for Jovellanos, as for any cultured amateur of his day, possibilities other than the imitation of the *comedia*. In the use which Jovellanos made of this liberty is to be seen the influence of his relationship with Pablo de Olavide.

The nature of these relations has been the subject of some controversy; in particular, Julio Somoza de Montsoriú, the eminent *jovellanista*, while admitting that Jovellanos attended Olavide's *tertulia*, heatedly denies that the two men were friends. They differed, he says, in age, in rank, in inclinations, education, and ideas.¹⁸ Somoza's statement is of course at least partially correct, but one suspects that it may be an echo of the disputes concerning Jovellanos' religious orthodoxy. In their anxiousness to acquire Jovellanos, at least posthumously, as an adherent of their causes, the perpetually opposed ideological camps of nineteenth-century Spain resorted to quite liberal interpretations of every possible word of Jovellanos' which might lend credibility to their claims. They were consistently unwilling to view him as a figure, like Feijoo, dramatically astride the old and the new, balancing in uneasy truce the contradictions between faith and reason, between the calls of religion and patriotism and the ideals of the Enlightenment. It is necessary only to read the essays of the Carlist Cándido Nocedal in his editions of Jovellanos for the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* in order to see the lengths to which these polemics could go. For those who wished at all costs to catechize Jovellanos, dead or alive, it was of course necessary to minimize his connections with Olavide, whose chequered career led him into difficulties with the Inquisition in 1776. The facts, however, speak for themselves; and the names we wish to give them are of secondary importance.

Don Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803), born in Lima, was, during Jovellanos' stay in Seville, *asistente* of that city, then the greatest in Spain, with a population of more than 120,000.¹⁹ His interest in the theater had begun in Lima, where it had also begun to bring him difficulties; in Seville,

16. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81. In Cadiz the abbé de Valchrétien first saw *El delincuente honrado* (*BAE*, XLVI, 78-79).

18. Somoza, pp. 24-25.

19. Twiss, pp. 301-302. Olavide came to Seville in 1767 and remained there until imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1776. See Cayetano Alcázar Molina, *Los hombres del reinado de Carlos III: D. Pablo de Olavide (el colonizador de Sierra Morena)* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 89-93, 177-79.

his position strengthened by an advantageous marriage, he continued to promote the drama, translating and acting in plays of Molière, Racine, Voltaire, and Sedaine (*El desertor*), as well as establishing an institution for the training of actors.²⁰ During a visit to Paris he had won the friendship of such men as Voltaire.²¹ Olavide was also the subject of a brief biographic sketch by no less an Encyclopedist than Denis Diderot, who gives us an interesting account of his friend's library: it included, we are told, the works of Montesquieu, of Voltaire, of Jean-Jacques, the *Dictionnaire* of Bayle and the *Encyclopédie*, as well as translations of some of these works.²² The possession and circulation of such books played an important part in the Inquisition's case against the *asistente*.

In Seville, Olavide maintained a regular *tertulia*, presumably at the Alcázar, where he lived "with the splendor of a prince."²³ Ceán Bermúdez, Jovellanos' friend, writing shortly after his death and certainly no hostile witness, describes the impact of these gatherings on Don Gaspar. Seville, he says,

comenzaba a ilustrarse con las luces de su asistente don Pablo de Olavide. En su tertulia, a que concurría Jove Llanos, se trataban asuntos de instrucción pública, de política, de economía, de policía y de otros ramos útiles al común de los vecinos, y a la felicidad de la provincia, apoyando Olavide los principios y axiomas de estas ciencias en obras y autores extranjeros, que por ser nuevos no había visto don Gaspar. Por fortuna llegó poco después a aquella audiencia don Luis Ignacio Aguirre, que había viajado por la Europa, y traía gran parte de aquellos libros. Los lee y extracta Jove Llanos, y estando muchos de ellos en inglés, aprende con prontitud y aplicación su idioma. (Pp. 18-19)

Jovellanos' colleague, Martín de Uiloa, was also one who "contribuyó mucho, en honor de la verdad, a su ilustración" (p. 15).

We can easily imagine what this "ilustración" consisted of. When Jovellanos came to Seville, he found himself in a position of some importance which was thrust on him rather suddenly. He was accepted in the brilliant home of Olavide; and this transplanted colonial, nineteen years his elder, open to the most advanced (and dangerous) philosophical cur-

20. Cotarelo, p. 185; Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Memorias para la vida del Excmo. Señor D. Gaspar Melchor de Jove Llanos, y noticias analíticas de sus obras* (Madrid, 1814 [1820]), p. 280. Cotarelo does not indicate the author of *El desertor*; Alcázar Molina (p. 270) and the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (s.v. Olavide) refer to *El desertor francés*, translated from Sedaine. I have not been able to verify this description.

21. Gerhard Moldenhauer, "Voltaire und die spanische Bühne im 18. Jahrhundert," *Berliner Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, I (1929), 118; Alcázar Molina, pp. 56-62.

22. Denis Diderot, *Don Pablo Olavidès: précis historique rédigé sur des mémoires fournis à M. Diderot par un espagnol, 1782*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J. Assézat et M. Tourneux (Paris, 1875-77), VI, 472. All references to Diderot are to this edition.

23. Twiss, p. 307. Twiss says that he "frequently had the honour of dining" at Olavide's table when he visited Seville in 1773. I should like to think that on at least one of these occasions he met Jovellanos, and that he may even have known something of *El delincuente honrado*; but he does not mention our author.

rents of his time, and enjoying the friendship and esteem of the intellectual titans of what passed for the most civilized nation in Europe, must have made a considerable impression on the young provincial fresh from the universities, the best of which were in eighteenth-century Spain in a lamentable state. And so in Olavide's company Jovellanos came to know "obras y autores extranjeros, que por ser nuevos no había visto": Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, the Encyclopedia, and all the bright array of the French and English Enlightenment. A critic as friendly to Jovellanos and as hostile to the *philosophes* as Menéndez y Pelayo calls him the "íntimo amigo de Cabarrús y de Olavide,"²⁴ and there can be little doubt as to the intellectual position of either. The works of Voltaire were forbidden *in toto* by the Inquisition of Toledo in 1762, this prohibition extending even to those who had dispensation to read forbidden books; although by one of those curious quirks of the censorial mind, translations of his plays were tolerated if the author's name was not mentioned.²⁵ Olavide translated Voltaire as well as *Le Déserteur*; his enthusiasm for the French theater may well have been communicated to Jovellanos, who translated Racine in 1770. Among the other items from Olavide's library, the *Encyclopédie* was on the *Index* (since 1758), as were *L'Esprit des lois* (since 1751) and Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (since 1700). And lest one be tempted to dissociate Jovellanos from these tendencies of Olavide's, let us remember that his own *Delincuente honrado* ends with a quotation from Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, on the *Index* since 1766, and that he read with evident approval Rousseau's *Emile*, prohibited in 1762.²⁶ Regardless, therefore, of whether Jovellanos and Olavide were friends in every sense of the word, the influence of the latter is indisputable and probably considerable. It seems more than likely that from him and his circle Jovellanos received his introduction to the thought of the Enlightenment, as well as to its favorite artists and artistic forms. It is in this *milieu* that he composed *El delincuente honrado*.

Jovellanos himself, in a preface to the 1787 edition of his play, writes: "Una disputa literaria, suscitada en cierta tertulia de Sevilla a principios del año de 1773, produjo la comedia que ahora damos a luz" (*BAE*, XLVI, 77). For further details, we must turn once more to Ceán, who clarifies this passage:

La disputa de que habla fue en Sevilla en la tertulia de Olavide, donde se ven-

24. *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1881), III, 287.

25. Moldenhauer, pp. 117-18.

26. Jovellanos, *Diarios*, ed. Julio Somoza, I (Oviedo, 1953), 495. Rousseau's works were to be found in Olavide's library (Diderot, *Don Pablo Olavides*, p. 472). Voltaire's *Commentaire sur le Livre des Delits et des Peines*, which Jovellanos may have known through Olavide, was on the *Index* since 1768; and Jovellanos' own *Informe* [...] *en el expediente de ley agraria* was prohibited, after his death, in 1825, though the 1948 edition of the *Index* no longer lists it.

tiló cuanto había que decir acerca de la comedia en prosa a la *Armoyante* [sic], o tragi-comedia, que entonces era de moda en Francia; y aunque se convino en ser monstruosa, prevaleció en su favor el voto de la mayor parte de los concurrentes, y se propuso que el que quisiese componer por modo de diversión y entretenimiento alguna en este género, la podía entregar a don Juan Elías de Castilla, que hacía de secretario de aquella junta, para que leyéndola en ella, sin manifestar el nombre del autor, pudiese cada uno juzgarla con libertad según su parecer. Don Ignacio Luis de Aguirre, alcalde del crimen de aquella real audiencia, entregó la que había compuesto con el título, *Los derechos de un Padre*: don Francisco de Bruna, oidor decano del mismo tribunal, el asistente Olavide y otros sujetos condecorados las que habían escrito, cuyos títulos no tengo ahora presentes, y don Gaspar de Jove Llanos *el Delincuente*, que mereció la aprobación general de la junta, grandes elogios y la preferencia a todas las demás. He aquí la verdadera causa de esta composición con el pleno conocimiento de pertenecer a un género espurio. (Pp. 312-13)

As an afterthought to the last sentence, Ceán exclaims: "¡Pero cuántos de éstos nos han introducido los franceses!" According to Jovellanos, the purpose of his play is "descubrir la dureza de las leyes, que, sin distinción de provocado y provocante, castigan a los *duelistas* con pena capital" (BAE, XLVI, 79). But the play is also an exercise in a new genre, and an exercise intended for private perusal. Jovellanos did not intend his work for the public; the implied criticism of the decrees and policies of the reigning sovereign makes this all the more evident.

As to the genre of his work, Jovellanos hesitates. In his 1787 preface, he calls it a *comedia*; but later he qualifies this term:

Ha pocos años que apareció en el teatro francés una especie de comedia, que cultivaron después con ventaja los ingleses y alemanes. Esta es la comedia tierna o drama sentimental, de que tenemos un buen modelo en *El Delincuente honrado*, original, y en la traducción de *La Misanropía*. Esta especie de drama o comedia tiene por principal objeto el promover los afectos de ternura y compasión, sin que deje de dar lugar al desenvolvimiento de caracteres ridículos, que fueron desde sus principios el fundamento de las composiciones cómicas. No es fácil decidir cuál especie es más digna de imitación; pues si la primera castiga los vicios y extravagancias de los hombres con el ridículo, esta otra forma el corazón sobre los útiles sentimientos de humanidad y de benevolencia. Todas serán muy interesantes bien manejadas y dispuestas de forma, que induzcan el amor a la virtud, aunque se mire oprimida, y el horror al vicio, aunque parezca afortunado, que es el fin principal que se debe proponer todo poeta dramático, y aun los compositores en todos los demás géneros de poesía.²⁷

Comedia tierna and *drama sentimental* are here equivalents. Earlier, Jovellanos had already called the work a *drama*, echoing the abbé de

27. "Lecciones de poética," *Curso de humanidades castellanas*, BAE, XLVI, 146. It should be said in defense of Jovellanos' modesty that his play was published without the author's name.

Valchrétien, who calls it *drame* (BAE, XLVI, 78-79). Jovellanos was experimenting with what he considered a new genre; along with everyone else, he recognized its novelty and seemed somewhat at a loss when the question of classification, so important to his contemporaries, arose. Sempere y Guarinos refers to *El delincuente honrado* as the first Spanish example of a comedy "de las que llaman *lastimosas*"; Martínez de la Rosa calls it a "comedia sentimental" or "llorona."²⁸ L. F. de Moratín considers it a *tragicomedia*.²⁹ But Spaniards were not the only ones to be puzzled by the new theatrical phenomenon which seemed to grow out of nowhere to disturb the neat categories of the eighteenth century. Voltaire himself, while quite aware of the nature of the changes, was far from consistent in his attitude toward them, using his critical opinions as weapons in personal feuds.³⁰ And one of the innovators in France, Fenouillot de Falbaire, makes the astounding statement that his *Honnête Criminel* is of a genre "entre la Comédie sérieuse & la Tragédie, ou plutôt c'est une vraie Tragédie bourgeoise dont le dénouement est heureux."³¹ In the midst of this apparent confusion, a new glance at Jovellanos' work and some possible French sources will show that it fits comfortably within the eighteenth-century *drame*, a genre defined by GaiFFE as "un spectacle destiné à un auditoire bourgeois ou populaire et lui présentant un tableau attendrissant et moral de son propre milieu" (p. 93).

We know precisely the audience for which *El delincuente honrado* was intended, the *tertulia* of Olavide, composed of a Sevillian officialdom which could well see "son propre milieu" depicted in Jovellanos' play. The sentimental and moral qualities of the work have already been noted; it must, however, be remembered that the entire moral—or moralizing—direction which Jovellanos gives it forms part of a concept of theater which he holds in common with his French models. In his *Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas, y sobre su origen en España*, Jovellanos develops his concept of the theater as being essentially a pastime for the aristocracy or the idle rich; but the pastime itself is to be far from idle. What is it that Jovellanos wants in a play? The answer sounds, with rare exceptions, like a program for the production of more *Delinquentes*: reverence for the "Ser Supremo," and for the established religion, love of sovereign, country, and constitution, respect for ranks, laws, and authorities, conjugal fidelity, paternal love, filial tenderness and obedience, good and magnanimous princes, humane and incorruptible magistrates, virtuous and patriotic

28. Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1786), 133; Martínez de la Rosa, p. 224.

29. *Obras* (Madrid, 1846 [BAE, II]), p. 319.

30. F. GaiFFE, *Le Drame en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910), pp. 447-48.

31. *L'Honnête Criminel* (Amsterdam, 1768), pp. ix-x.

citizens, prudent and zealous *patres familias*, faithful and constant friends —“en una palabra, hombres heroicos y esforzados, amantes del bien público, celosos de su libertad y sus derechos, y protectores de la inocencia y acérrimos perseguidores de la iniquidad.”³²

This “moral purpose” of drama is not in itself new; it is merely the *utile dulci* of generations of apologists for art. But the importance given to the “useful” element in the play itself is in keeping with a recognizable trend in latter eighteenth-century literature. Whereas in many a classical and neoclassic play the usefulness could be found only by a trained and not overly-scrupulous eye, in the newer works it is all too evident; the sweetness becomes the elusive quality. Already in the tragedies of Voltaire, “la recherche de l'utilité morale et sociale tend à supplanter le souci de la beauté artistique”;³³ and among the *dramas*, each teaches some salutary truth, “et l'on se rend compte bien vite que l'enseignement ne s'ajoute pas à l'œuvre d'art pour en augmenter la valeur, mais qu'il en est la raison d'être et le but final.”³⁴ The moral lesson does not derive naturally from the characters and events but is expounded by the characters, making the play “une conférence dialoguée.”³⁵ This is true of much of the discussion of legislation and the administration of justice which lies near the didactic core of Jovellanos' play. What could serve as an illustration of the author's thesis—the situation of Torcuato torn between honor and civic duty and forced eventually to accept a duel—is not presented on the stage. It forms only the antecedents of the play, made known through lifeless narration. Of course the actual staging of such events would make it necessary to abandon at least the unity of time; as it is, the genuine drama of Torcuato is already past, and the play can only *discuss* what is to be done with him. The drama ceases to be human and becomes legal. This sacrifice of dramatic potential does not necessarily indicate a lack of dramatic talent, but it reinforces the view that what interested Jovellanos was precisely the legal-philosophical aspect of his story.

We have noted above Jovellanos' concept of the function of comedy, the last lines textually paralleling this passage in Diderot's *Entretiens sur le Fils naturel*: “DORVAL: Pour juger sainement, expliquons-nous. Quel est l'objet d'une composition dramatique? MOI: C'est, je crois, d'inspirer aux hommes l'amour de la vertu, l'horreur du vice [...]”³⁶ That Jovellanos should be directly acquainted with the work of Diderot is more than likely; entirely apart from the latter's European reputation, the connection Jovellanos-Olavide-Diderot is a highly suggestive one.

32. *Obras escogidas*, II, 29-30.

33. Gaiiffe, p. 27.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

36. “Troisième entretien,” *Œuvres*, VII, 149.

Proof is not confined to verbal coincidences but is found at the very heart of Jovellanos' dramatic structure. There is not only a superficial resemblance between *El delincuente honrado* and *Le Fils naturel*, often and loosely mentioned together; both are, in fact, applications of Diderot's dramatic theories on what he calls *le genre sérieux*. This new genre is also to have its "rules": it is to deal with an important subject in a simple, domestic, and realistic plot. No use is to be made of valets for the furtherance of the action. Laughter and *coups de théâtre* are frowned on; *pantomime* and *tableaux* are recommended—and, "que votre morale soit générale et forte."³⁷ On almost every point, Jovellanos' play complies with this view of the genre. We may question the simplicity of his plot; but we must grant him success in every other respect, especially in the avoidance of the comic and in the reliance on *pantomime* and *tableaux*. The movements of Torcuato in the first act, indicative of his troubled state of mind; the tears; the groupings and movements of characters in the fourth and fifth acts, with Torcuato in chains, in the dark prison area; the pleas and posturings of Laura; and the final release and embraces—all develop plot through action, movement, *pantomime*, and set up scenes designed to be visually impressive: *tableaux*. Jovellanos seems actually to have taken the lesson too much to heart; his French translator, the abbé de Valchrétien, writes him that "à raison de nos usages particuliers et de notre extrême délicatesse, j'ai été obligé de changer une grande partie de pantomime dans le cinquième acte. Le dénouement ne seroit pas assez rapide sur notre scène, et languiroit trop: votre pièce est trop bonne pour lui laisser aucun défaut."³⁸

Diderot's preference for *condition* rather than character as the fitting subject for "comedy" is well known; he is particularly intrigued by the dramatic possibilities of the judge:

Que quelqu'un se propose de mettre sur la scène la condition du juge; qu'il intrigue son sujet d'une manière aussi intéressante qu'il le comporte et que je le conçois; que l'homme y soit forcé par les fonctions de son état, ou de manquer à la dignité et à la sainteté de son ministère, et de se déshonorer aux yeux des autres et aux siens, ou de s'immoler lui-même dans ses passions, ses goûts, sa fortune, sa naissance, sa femme et ses enfants, et l'on prononcera après, si l'on veut, que le drame honnête et sérieux est sans chaleur, sans couleur et sans force.³⁹

37. *Ibid.*, p. 137. Cf. "Premier entretien" (VII, 94) and "Deuxième entretien" (VII, 113-14).

38. *BAE*, XLVI, 79. Valchrétien apparently objects to *tableaux* and *pantomime* such as those in V.i and V.v. It would be interesting to know how he changed the play to make it conform to "notre extrême délicatesse." A MS of his translation exists in the Instituto Jovellanos in Gijón; it was published in Marseille in 1777 in an edition of which I have found no trace except the source of the information, Somoza, who himself had not seen it (see Somoza, pp. 60-61, 77-78, 192). I am not aware of any other edition and have not seen the MS.

39. *De la Poésie dramatique, Œuvres*, VII, 311-12.

Don Justo seems made to comply with Diderot's request; his conflict is precisely that envisaged by the latter: the human emotions of the man opposed by the sacred obligations of the judge. Justo lives fully his social role, his *condition*, that of judge; hence the poignancy of his being compelled to condemn his own long-lost son. But the same importance of *condition* is also to be found in the characterization of Torcuato, with a slightly more complex grouping of rôles: husband, friend, virtuous citizen, and criminal. The play's title indicates at once that the conflict of the play rests on the paradoxical nature of this combination. From this may stem also the difficulty of forming any clear concept of the characters, a difficulty already experienced by the abbé de Valchrétien (*BAE*, XLVI, 78-79). The characters do not seem to have any core of personality; rather they slip suddenly and sharply from one role into another, always fitting perfectly the preconceived norms of that role. Their personalities have facets, but no depth; like the title, they remain at the stage of unresolved paradox. It would seem that Jovellanos, moving from the abstract plane to the concrete, set up opposing concepts (husband, judge, father, etc.) and gave them names, rather than imagining the person and moving outward from a well-defined personality. The modern reader, always interested in psychological penetration, will find this unsatisfactory; Jovellanos' audience, far less interested in psychology than in the sociology that passed as "philosophy," apparently approved. Once more, what may to us seem a defect in the play should rather be viewed as conscious conformity with a dramatic theory, Diderot's.⁴⁰

Of Diderot's dramatic productions, *Le Fils naturel* (1757) is that most frequently mentioned in connection with Jovellanos, and justifiably so. The two plays have in common a sentimental, tearful tone, and a conviction on the part of the protagonist that he is the victim of an adverse destiny.⁴¹ In both plays we find a pair of close friends (Torcuato-Anselmo, Dorval-Clairville), a duel forced by insulting comments (though this is not an issue for Diderot), and bastardy, though in the French play father and son already know each other and in the Spanish they do not. More specifically, Jovellanos' opening scenes strongly recall Diderot's, in which Dorval decides to leave early in the morning because of his guilty love for Rosalie. Torcuato plans a similar escape because of the guilty

40. Translations attest to the popularity of Diderot in Spain. The *Entretiens* appeared in Madrid in 1788, translated by Bernardo María de Calzada. *Le Fils naturel* and *Le Père de famille* also found their way into Spanish in the same period, the latter three times. See Diderot, *Œuvres*, VII, 10; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, III, 242, 251; Sempere y Guarinos, VI, 231-32.

41. Cf. these doleful utterances of Dorval's: "CONSTANCE. Si cela est, vous revenez sans doute. DORVAL. Je ne sais . . . Ai-je jamais su ce que je deviendrais?" (Liv); "Je traîne partout l'infortune" (II.v). Compare with *El delincuente honrado*, I.iii, 84b, and I.vi, 86a.

secret of the duel. Each character pretends to have pressing financial matters to attend to, one in Paris, the other in Madrid. Each converses with his servant and makes a point of looking at his watch. For Dorval, matters are complicated by Constance, a young widow who, like Laura, had "éprouvé tous les malheurs des nœuds mal assortis" (I.iv). These resemblances, in view of what we already know of Jovellanos' adherence to Diderot's dramatic theories, are too obvious to be the result of chance.

Another *drame* which is spoken of in connection with *El delincuente honrado* is Sedaine's *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* (1765),⁴² the plot of which also centers around an illegal duel forced on a character by the laws of honor. Sedaine, however, unlike Jovellanos, has known how to use this circumstance not only for purposes of social propaganda (i.e., to laud the moral nobility of the merchant Vanderk), but also to exploit to the full the dramatic possibilities of the duel for Vanderk *père* and Vanderk *fils*. We witness the emotions of the characters before the duel, the anguish of the father during the time of the duel, and, finally, the unexpectedly happy solution. A technical detail of this surprise ending may well have been in Jovellanos' mind when he wrote his *Delincuente*: knocks on the door of Vanderk *père*, the prearranged signal to indicate his son's death, convince him that the duel has had the worst possible outcome; soon thereafter, however, the son enters, and it is disclosed that the servant who reported his death had, in his excitement, failed to observe accurately all that was happening on the "field of honor." Similarly, in *El delincuente honrado*, Torcuato is led off to be executed; and the shouts of the crowd and the ringing of the bell convince the assembled characters that he has died. All the greater, therefore, are their surprise and delight when he reappears and it is found that the bell has been rung by mistake, the ringer misinterpreting the crowd's agitation at the arrival of Don Anselmo with the royal commutation (V.v, 98b).

The attitude toward the duel and legislation affecting it is also much the same in the two works, and at times is expressed in strikingly similar language. Let us compare some pertinent passages: Vanderk *père*, informed of his son's plans, recognizes the justification for his position: "Je suis bien loin de vous détourner de ce que vous avez à faire. Vous êtes militaire, et quand on a pris un engagement vis-à-vis du public, on doit le soutenir, quoiqu'il en coûte à la raison, et même à la nature."⁴³ With a similar concept of the importance of honor, derived no doubt from Montesquieu, Torcuato attempts to justify duelling in the eyes of his father-in-law:

42. See Berkowitz and Wofsy, p. xxiii.

43. Michel-Jean Sedaine, *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, III.viii. References to this play are based on *Eighteenth-Century French Plays*, ed. Clarence D. Brenner and Nolan A. Goodyear (New York, 1927).

El honor, Señor, es un bien que todos debemos conservar; pero es un bien que no está en nuestra mano, sino en la estimación de los demás. La opinión pública le da y le quita. ¿Sabéis que quien no admite un desafío es al instante tenido por cobarde? Si es un hombre ilustre, un caballero, un militar, ¿de qué le servirá acudir a la justicia? La nota que le impuso la opinión pública ¿podrá borrarla una sentencia? Yo bien sé que el honor es una quimera, pero sé también que sin él no puede subsistir una monarquía; que es el alma de la sociedad; que distingue las condiciones y las clases; que es principio de mil virtudes políticas; y en fin, que la legislación, lejos de combatirlo, debe fomentarlo y protegerle. (I.v, 85b)⁴⁴

The third French work that has been most frequently mentioned in connection with *El delincuente honrado* is Fenouillot de Falbaire's *L'Honnête Criminel* (1767).⁴⁵ Jovellanos may have been familiar with this play also, especially since it was a literary repercussion of the Jean Calas case, of which he must have been aware. Like Torcuato, Falbaire's characters feel themselves persecuted by an adverse fate; as in *El delincuente honrado*, there is much praise of virtue and condemnation of a false sense of honor, with the addition of attacks on hereditary nobility which Jovellanos did not permit himself. *L'Honnête Criminel* deals with a young Huguenot, André, who has replaced his father in the galleys and thus suffers the penalty for a crime of which he is morally and legally innocent. In this he differs from Torcuato, who, in law, is guilty of the crime for which he is to be executed. André's father, who has long been searching for him, finds him and proclaims his innocence; in this recognition, the role of the father is a liberating one, quite different from Don Justo's in *El delincuente*. The old man, however, is also morally blameless, for the law under which he has been condemned is an unjust one; and since he, too, must now be saved, Falbaire resorts, like Jovellanos, to an outside force: a pardon is obtained with the expectation that the king will ratify it. These details, together with the similarity of titles, may indicate a direct relationship between the two plays; but they are not conclusive.⁴⁶

44. It should be noted that Don Justo later recommends the ancient laws of Spain as less barbarous in this regard, since they correspond to accepted values. His condemnation of the new law rests on its failing to take account of the unchanged popular attitude (IV.vi, 95a-b).

45. Valchrétien (*BAE*, XLVI, 78) and Ticknor (III, 324, n. 12) find no connection between the two plays; neither does Somoza, who erroneously attributes the French play to Mercier (p. 60). Paul Lacroix (*Le Bibliophile Jacob*) writes of *El delincuente*: "C'est une imitation fort libre de *L'Honnête criminel*, drame de Fenouillot de Falbaire de Quingey. La pièce espagnole ne conserve guère de ce drame que le fond du sujet; elle a été traduite en français par l'abbé Meylar [*sic* for d'Eymar, i.e., the abbé de Valchrétien]" (*Catalogue de la Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne* [Paris, 1843-45], IV, 173, No. 4851). Lacroix does not list the French translation, of which perhaps he was aware only through the letters prefaced to the 1787 ed.

46. Gaiffe (p. 568) also lists an anonymous *Honnête Voleur, ou Les Cruels Effets de*

Two other French *dramas* of this period, however, offer much greater possibilities, though they are scarcely taken into account in discussions of *El delincuente honrado*.⁴⁷ The first of these is Sedaine's *Le Déserteur* (1769), a three-act work in prose with verse *ariettes*. Here Alexis, in order to escape a life made unbearable by the supposed marriage of his fiancée, admits to a crime (desertion) which he has not committed. After prison scenes, in which the pathos of Alexis' situation is contrasted with the clowning of his drunken cell-mate, Louise, the fiancée, determines to seek Alexis' pardon from the king, who happens to be in the vicinity. Alexis is led out to execution and is saved at the last possible moment by the arrival of the royal letter of clemency. While this play differs in important respects from *El delincuente honrado*, it deals with some of the same themes and coincides with it in the ending. If it was translated by Olavide, Jovellanos must have known it (see note 20).

The other *drame* in question is Mercier's *Le Déserteur* (1770), in which Durimel, who had deserted after extreme provocation, is arrested on the eve of his marriage to Clary. His father, Saint-Franc, who had long served overseas, recognizes him; Saint-Franc is the officer in charge of executing deserters. Durimel is not, like Torcuato, illegitimate; the effect of the recognition under peculiarly painful circumstances is much the same as in *El delincuente*, however. Like Torcuato, Durimel is a victim of fate: "DURIMEL, après avoir soupiré. A moi, quelque chose d'heureux!—Ah! Madame! . . . je ne m'en flatte plus."⁴⁸ Informed of his crime, Clary, like Laura under similar circumstances, determines to save him.⁴⁹ The scene of recognition in which Saint-Franc reveals himself to his son must be read against the corresponding scene in Jovellanos' play:

JUSTO. ¡Oh Dios! Oh justo Dios! Mi corazón me lo había dicho . . . ¡Hijo mío! . . .

TORCUATO. (*Asombrado.*) ¡Qué! Señor, ¿es posible . . .

JUSTO. (*Prontamente.*) Sí, hijo mío; yo soy ese padre desdichado que nunca has conocido.

TORCUATO. (*De rodillas, y besando la*

SAINT-FRANC. Embrasse ton pere.

[DURIMEL.] Mon pere! Dans quel état? Graces au Ciel, c'est vous! Quel heureux moment!

la nécessité. One may conclude that these paradoxical titles, representing suffering virtue, appealed to the sensibilities of a period which was beginning to take a sympathetic interest in all manner of pariahs and to stress the importance of environment in their behavior. This does not preclude the possibility of a direct adaptation by Jovellanos of the French title of *Falbare*.

47. Somoza speaks of *El Desertor*, whose author he does not mention, as having "alguna relación," but declares it to be "de escaso mérito" (p. 60). See also Sempere y Guarinos, III, 135.

48. Sébastien Mercier, *Le Déserteur* (Geneva, 1772), I.iv.

49. *Ibid.*, III.vi. Cf. *El delincuente*, II.viii, 88b.

mano de su padre con gran ternura y llanto.) ¡Mi padre! . . . ¡Ay padre mío! después de haber pronunciado tan dulce nombre, ya no temo la muerte.

JUSTO. (Con extremo dolor y ternura.) ¡Hijo mío! Hijo desventurado! . . . ¡En qué estado te vuelve el cielo a los brazos de tu padre!

TORCUATO. (Como antes.) No, padre mío; después de haberos conocido, ya moriré contento. (IV.iii, 91a-b)

SAINT-FRANC. Oublies-tu le moment qui doit le suivre?

DURIMEL. Je l'oublie! je voulois vous voir encore avant de mourir. Je bénis la faveur du Ciel, qui me permet à ce prix d'embrasser vos genoux . . . Grand Dieu!

pour un tel moment, oui je t'offre volontiers ma vie. (IV.iv)

Saint-Franc proceeds to console his son by assuring him that his soul will fly directly to God, a motif which is also used by Jovellanos:

¡Hijo mío! Tus angustias se acabarán muy luego, y tú irás a descansar para siempre en el seno del Criador. Allí hallarás un Padre, que sabrá recompensar tus virtudes. [. . .] ¡Ah! nosotros, infelices, que quedamos sumidos en un abismo de aflicción y miseria, mientras tu espíritu sobre las alas de la inmortalidad va a penetrar las mansiones eternas y a esconderse en el seno del mismo Dios que le ha criado. Procura imprimir en tu alma estas dulces ideas; que ellas te harán superior a las angustias de la muerte. (V.i, 97b)

Like Don Justo, Saint-Franc is faced by a conflict between duty and paternal love, made the more arduous for him by the shameful treatment he receives in his regiment. Mercier exploits the possibilities of this conflict more than does Jovellanos; there is some doubt as to whether Saint-Franc will avail himself of the opportunity to escape with his son, although he determines finally to sacrifice Durimel, cheering himself with the assurance that the example of his death will do more good than could his life. In a pathetic scene, Clary tells Durimel her dream of obtaining a pardon from "ton Roi, de ce Roi que tu m'as dit si aimé, si bienfaisant" (V.i). But while the possibility of royal pardon is thus hinted at, it is not realized; and Durimel is led out to execution. As in all these plays, no bloodshed is to take place on stage. Drumbeats and shots are heard from off-stage, announcing, like the knocks of *Le Philosophe* and the bell of *El delincuente*, the death of the victim. Mercier, however, is not willing to rescue Durimel; and the hero dies.

It will be seen that the correspondence between Mercier's play and Jovellanos' is extremely close in the general outline of plot, in the wording of at least one scene, in some details, and in the dual roles assigned to the two chief characters (morally innocent criminal, father-judge). It is true that Durimel is apparently the legitimate son of Saint-Franc; but the recognition motif is the same, in keeping with the preference of a

whole school of playwrights for the "mystère d'état civil."⁵⁰ The fact that Durimel is killed while Torcuato is not is of little importance; we have already seen that Jovellanos' ending, with its recourse to a solution outside the drama, is largely irrelevant. In fact, the difference, rather than being an argument against the utilization of Mercier's *drame*, is an element of proof for Jovellanos' knowledge of Sedaine's *Déserteur*, where exactly the same device is used to save the hero. The two plays complement each other as sources for *El delincuente honrado*; in combination with *Le Philosophe sans le savior*, *Le Fils naturel*, and *L'Honnête Criminel*, they provide us with highly plausible antecedents not only for the general tone of Jovellanos' play, but also for the structure and development of the plot. The only major aspect of the play for which these sources do not entirely account is the role played by Torcuato's faithful friend, Anselmo, unless one accept André's self-sacrifice in *L'Honnête Criminel* as its prototype.

Jovellanos thus followed the dramatic theories of Diderot and borrowed heavily for his own work from Diderot's most famous *drame* and from the works of others who, directly or indirectly, acknowledged Diderot as their master.⁵¹ We can be the more certain of this in view of what we know of Jovellanos' relations with Olavide and of the latter's ideas, literary activities, and readings. Among these readings was an author whose influence is noticeable in the authors of *dramas* and the *encyclopédistes* as well as in Jovellanos: Montesquieu.

Jovellanos read Montesquieu in his youth,⁵² and while in Seville "trajo en verso del francés un idilio de Mr. de Montesquieu."⁵³ The new approach to the study and interpretation of laws which the Frenchman had advocated is reflected in *El delincuente honrado*, where Torcuato tells Don Simón: "Los más de nuestros autores se han copiado unos a otros, y apenas hay dos que hayan trabajado seriamente en descubrir el espíritu de nuestras leyes."⁵⁴ In his discussions of honor, Jovellanos

50. Gaiffe, pp. 305-306.

51. *El delincuente honrado* displays almost every characteristic of the *drame*, including its tendency toward prosaic grandiloquence; but it does not, like so many French *dramas*, glorify the businessman (see Gaiffe, pp. 494, 269). There are two reasons for this: Jovellanos was writing for an audience of magistrates and officials, and the commerce of Seville and Cadiz was largely in foreign hands. See Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain* (New York, 1948), pp. 469-70.

52. Angel del Río in Jovellanos, *Obras escogidas*, I, lxviii.

53. Ceán, p. 293. See BAE, XLVI, 8-9.

54. *El delincuente honrado*, I, v, 85b (italics mine). *L'Esprit des lois* was placed on the Index in 1751; it was not translated into Spanish until 1820 (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, III, 248). There is a marked tendency in Jovellanos' readings and sources toward prohibited works; yet those who wish to claim him as an ultra-Catholic have sought support in his attack on "una secta de hombres feroces y blasfemos, [que] buscando sus armas en la naturaleza, se levanta contra el cielo, como los titanes" (*Oración inaugural a la apertura del Real Instituto Asturiano*, BAE, XLVI, 323a). In these some-

makes the same distinctions as Montesquieu: there is a "true" honor consisting of virtue and fulfillment of duty, and a "false" honor, "una quimera," "un préjugé que la religion travaille tantôt à détruire, tantôt à régler."⁵⁵ Nevertheless the "false" honor is socially useful, and it is the governing principle in a monarchy.⁵⁶ The demands of this honor must therefore be complied with, all the more rigorously when they are not in accord with the laws. This is the position taken by Montesquieu (IV.ii) and exemplified by Jovellanos in the situation of his Torcuato. The law in this case, designed to remedy the abuses of honor, is itself an evil; the harshness of the punishments it imposes is a greater evil than the abuses it is to correct.⁵⁷ Jovellanos views it against the background of education, climate, customs, constitution, and "el genio nacional," finding it unjust because it does not correspond to them (IV.vi, 95a-b). His attitude is essentially Montesquieu's: the punishment must not only "fit the crime," but the definitions of "crime" and "punishment" must fit the human beings with whom they are ultimately concerned. For Jovellanos, the legislation on duels conflicts with the needs of the state; it undermines the principle of honor which it should protect and foment (I.v, 85b). In this predicament, he resorts to royal clemency as a solution for his protagonist, a solution foreseen by Montesquieu: "Dans les monarchies, où l'on est gouverné par l'honneur, qui souvent exige ce que la loi défend, elle [la clémence] est plus nécessaire" (VI.xxi). The figure of the king in *El delincuente honrado* is that envisaged by Montesquieu: the supreme arbiter, not above the law, but using his constitutional prerogatives to temper the harshness of the law and to reconcile judicial exactness and impartiality with concern for human values and motives. He is the father of his people; "une preuve qu'on l'aime, c'est que l'on a de la confiance en lui, et que, lorsqu'un ministre refuse, on s' imagine toujours que le prince auroit accordé. Même dans les calamités publiques, on n'accuse point sa personne; on se plaint de ce qu'il ignore, ou de ce qu'il est obsédé par des gens corrompus. Si le prince savoit! dit le peuple" (XII.xxiii). Jovellanos' Don Justo, when his petition for clemency has been refused, takes exactly this

what vague words, Jovellanos seems to attack freethinkers or the French revolutionaries; but it must be remembered that he does so in 1794 and in a public discourse, while *El delincuente* was written for friends and associates in 1773. Furthermore, while the *philosophes* may, to us, seem clearly to foreshadow the Revolution and its ultimate anti-Christian position, we cannot always expect a contemporary of events to have on them the same perspective as posterity. Once more, it would be hazardous and capricious to impose dogma, either Catholic or anti-Catholic, on Jovellanos' thinking at a distance of more than a century.

55. Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des lois* (Paris: Garnier, n.d. [1868?]), IV.ii; *El delincuente honrado*, I.v, 85b, and IV.vi, 95a-b.

56. Cf. *El delincuente*, I.v, 85b, with Montesquieu, III, vii.

57. See Montesquieu, VI.xii.

attitude: "¡No sólo aprueban su muerte, sino que quieren también atropellarla! [...] No; al Soberano le han engañado. ¡Ah! Si hubiera oído mis razones, ¿cómo pudiera negarse su piadoso ánimo a la defensa de un inocente?" (IV.vii, 96a).

The idea of judicial torture elicits from Jovellanos a genuine eloquence, paralleling one of Montesquieu's most moving passages: "¡La tortura! . . . ¡Oh nombre odioso! ¡Nombre funesto! ¿Es posible que en un siglo en que se respeta la humanidad y en que la filosofía derrama su luz por todas partes, se escuchen aún entre nosotros los gritos de la inocencia oprimida?"⁵⁸ One could compare other passages in the two authors; but Jovellanos' most important debt to Montesquieu is the least easily documentable yet all-pervading one of a humanitarian view of laws and crimes, of the recognition that each new law, however praiseworthy in itself, must itself be judged in the context of an historical process. Customs, climate, the laws of the past—history shapes the character of a people, and it is folly and injustice to attempt a sudden and violent change, even for the better. This spirit of moderation informs Jovellanos' other writings as well. It separates him both from radical innovators and from reactionaries; because of it he was a man without a party in his lifetime and a center of controversy then and thereafter.

In the preceding pages we have attempted to review the nature of Jovellanos' play, its sources, and the circumstances of its composition. To survey fully its fate after 1773 would exceed the scope of the present article; suffice it to say that the work enjoyed numerous performances, editions, and translations until the triumphant Romantic theater swept it from public favor.⁵⁹ From the above it will have become clear that *El delincuente honrado* corresponds very closely to a specific period in the intellectual and literary history of Western Europe, a period of optimism in which Reason, guided by a sentimental compassion for the misfortunes of men, was deemed a sufficient tool for the betterment of the world. Literature was to play its part in this saving enlightenment, and its aims were social rather than esthetic. Neither Diderot nor most of his followers had any real quarrel with the dramatic unities;⁶⁰ they were less concerned with the superficialities of the theater than with the realities of life as they saw it. The same is true of Jovellanos, whom we can

58. *El delincuente*, II.xiv, 89b; cf. Montesquieu, VI.xvii. See also Ceán, p. 15. This reference to the light of "philosophy" should be set against the passage quoted in n. 54 *supra*.

59. The performances began in 1774 in the Royal Theaters. Nodded (1821-85) was impressed by a performance in his childhood, but by 1845 the play was no longer given. Shortly after its composition, it was translated into French, English, and German; and seven editions in Spanish were published by 1840. See Sempere y Guarinos, III, 134-35; *BAE*, XLVI, xi, 77; Alcalá Galiano, pp. 377-78; Somoza, pp. 60-61.

60. Gaiffe, pp. 438-47.

count among the followers of Diderot. He experiments with a "género espurio"; he takes liberties—tame enough, to be sure—with the unities; and he fills his play with melodramatic contrasts, with tears, with sentimental victims of fate, and with the other stock-in-trade of Romanticism. But for such externals the Romantic dramatists had far more brilliant models in their French contemporaries. The essentially revolutionary aspect of *El delincuente*, that which sharply distinguishes it from the neoclassic drama, also differentiates it from the Romantic theater. This is its basically social orientation. The revolution of the Romantics was an esthetic one, specifically directed against the canons of the eighteenth-century stage; the intellectual or philosophic content of its plays is negligible or at best vague. The Romantic drama is art for art's sake, just as the neoclassic tragedies are, albeit by different standards. If we seek in the nineteenth century an equivalent of Jovellanos' social drama, we must seek not among the Romantics, but among the realists of the latter half of the century, among such writers as López de Ayala with his "alta comedia," and Tamayo y Baus. It is there that we find again the concern with contemporary social problems in a contemporary setting, the realism in details of presentation, the view of man in society, and the mixture of sentimentality and moralizing that we have noted in *El delincuente honrado*. There, and not in the passions, the lyricism, the individualism, and the medievalism of Rivas, of Hartzenbusch, of Zorrilla. Jovellanos' play is not, therefore, the ancestor of the Romantic theater; it is both less and more. Like the French *dramas* with which it must be grouped, it belongs to a school without direct posterity;⁶¹ like them, it retains considerable interest as an experiment in a freer theater with social implications. It also retains its interest as a literary expression of Jovellanos' thought, of a moment in a life dedicated to the achievement of a better Spain and torn between the promise of the new and the affection for the old.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 552-54.

PAUL VALÉRY LECTEUR DE LÉON BLOY

Par Marcel Muller

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DANS LE numéro de mars 1892 de *Chimère*, *Revue indépendante et d'insolence littéraire* paraissait un compte rendu de *Christophe Colomb devant les taureaux* de Léon Bloy sous l'énigmatique signature de M. D. Ce compte rendu ne semble avoir attiré l'attention d'aucun des bibliographes que nous avons consultés. Il vaudrait pourtant la peine de se demander si ces initiales ne dissimulent pas M. Doris, qui, on le sait, était le pseudonyme favori de Paul Valéry à cette époque: M. Doris publiait dans la même livraison ses "gloses sur quelques peintures" et les lecteurs du tout premier numéro de *Chimère* (août 1891) avaient déjà pu apprécier sous la même signature un poème destiné à être repris beaucoup plus tard dans l'*Album de vers anciens*: "Hélène, la reine triste." En septembre 1891 *Le Nazaréen* d'Henry Mazel était l'objet d'un compte rendu signé de la même façon. Enfin en mai et décembre 1892, M. D. (identifié avec M. Doris par Jean Hytier)¹ publiait respectivement la traduction d'un sonnet de Dante et de la "Visione della Cerva" de Pétrarque.

Le compte rendu de *Christophe Colomb* fait partie de la chronique que *Chimère* publiait régulièrement sous le titre "Au Pays de Chimère." On trouve à la fin du numéro de janvier 1893 (p. 85) une table des collaborateurs à cette chronique pour la première et la deuxième année.² Or le seul parmi les dix-sept noms qui réponde aux initiales est celui de M. Doris, qui doit de toute façon y être mentionné pour le compte rendu du *Nazaréen*, lequel est signé en toutes lettres: M. Doris. Nous avons donc le choix entre deux hypothèses: la table des collaborateurs est complète et M. Doris est l'auteur à la fois de la recension de l'ouvrage de Mazel (signée M. Doris) et de la recension de l'ouvrage de Bloy (signée M. D.). Ou bien la table comporte un oubli (ce serait le seul) et M. D. est en réalité un autre collaborateur impossible à identifier. Cette deuxième hypothèse est peu vraisemblable. Une lecture du texte nous inclinera plutôt à accepter la première.

Christophe Colomb devant les taureaux, par Léon Bloy

"Ce nouveau livre qui serait mon dernier soupir littéraire, si le vœu d'un assez grand nombre de mes contemporains était exaucé..."

1. Paul Valéry, *Œuvres*, édition établie [...] par Jean Hytier. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris, 1957), I, 19.

2. C'est en août 1891 que *Chimère* avait été lancée.

Léon Bloy, qui proclame si hautement à la première ligne du libelle, la Haine merveilleuse dont il est entouré—effort si inférieur qu'il a trouvé un triomphe dans le *Silence*—nous apparaît le survivant de cette race catholique et suprême des Baudelaire, Barbey d'Aureville, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.

Ceux-là, ayant flairé leur siècle, ont élevé contre lui de claires certitudes, et l'heure, où leurs magnifiques songes s'apaisaient, ils tournaient vers l'Epoque laide et infecte leurs justes armes—fiers du souvenir de leur grande lucidité.

Mais leurs épées taillaient dans un invincible monstre, fort de son invulnérable putréfaction—et leur joie de lutte se corrompait devant l'inerte.

Léon Bloy a su tantôt réveiller quelque douleur dans l'ennemi, n'ayant brandi le fer que rouge, et frappant inattendu.

Cette fois, il l'empoigne aux cornes, le prosterne, et à l'occasion du grand Christophe Colomb trahi par sa descendance, immole aussi quelque Espagnol—ladre—même à la manière moderne, quant à la bourse.

Il y aura, cette année, dans les villes espagnoles de misérables fêtes de drapeaux et de musiques, mais le souvenir du mystique Inventeur de Mondes n'en sera guère béni. Il demeure inviolé. Sa sublime trouvaille de terres à défricher spirituellement, de Belles Indes où retrouver un Eden chrétien baigné de vastes et purs fleuves, reste stérile et presque déplorable. Le nom radieux de *quelqu'un* nous brûle les lèvres, qui, né sur ce sol pour le destiner à une beauté suprême, est mort inglorieux dans le blasphème de ces mêmes Américains dont les navires vont se paviser en l'honneur de Colomb...

Merci d'un tel livre à Léon Bloy. L'éclat secret des Textes saints illumina toutes les pages de cet admirable "pamphlet." C'est l'imprécation immense de celui qui ne détourne pas la tête, et qui maudit en général, en foule, toute voix mauvaise par qui le grand silence et la contemplation où devrait mourir toute la terre, est interrompu.

M. D.

(*Chimère*, mars 1892, pp. 153-54)

L'ouvrage de Bloy avait paru chez Savine en octobre 1890. Pour comprendre le titre bizarre et les commentaires de *Chimère*, il importe de connaître les antécédents de sa composition. On était à deux ans du quatrième centenaire de la découverte du Nouveau Monde. Le Duc de Veragua, grand d'Espagne et dernier descendant de Christophe Colomb avait chargé l'Académie Royale d'Histoire de Madrid d'attribuer un prix de trente mille pesetas à l'auteur de la meilleure biographie de son ancêtre. Or son *poulain* favori était un avocat américain du nom de Harisse qui travaillait à réduire à des proportions purement humaines la prodigieuse aventure de Christophe. L'allusion aux taureaux s'explique par le fait que le Duc employait son temps et son argent à l'élevage des bêtes destinées aux corridas. En écrivant son livre, Léon Bloy était mû par le désir de plaider la cause, fortement menacée, de la béatification de Christophe Colomb.³

3. Nous tirons ces détails de Joseph Bollery, *Léon Bloy. Essai de Biographie. II. Ses débuts littéraires. Du "Chat noir" au "Mendiant ingrat"* (Paris, 1949), pp. 356-57.

Le critique de *Chimère* a évidemment été moins intéressé par les titres à la canonisation du navigateur que par des associations littéraires. C'est Poe que l'Amérique et "la Haine dont il [Bloy] est entouré" ont évoqué à l'esprit du critique. Une phrase de Bloy a pu rappeler le monument dédié au poète américain à Baltimore:

... l'Amérique ne se borne pas à multiplier les marbres et les bronzes en l'honneur de celui qui nous la révéla. [...] on a parlé d'un monument colossal.⁴

L'auteur du "Corbeau" est l'objet d'une mystérieuse allusion ("Le nom radieux de *quelqu'un*") et le texte résonne d'échos du "Tombeau d'Edgar Poe": "ayant flairé leur siècle" ("son siècle épouvanté"); "leurs épées taillaient dans un invincible monstre" ("le poète suscite avec son glaive nu"; "vil sursaut d'hydre"); "né sur ce sol" ("du sol et de la nue"); "est mort inglorieux dans le blasphème" ("aux noirs vols du Blasphème épars").

La conjonction de ces deux noms: Poe et Mallarmé s'accorde fort bien avec ce que nous savons de Valéry à cette époque: il avait dès 1889 lu *A Rebours* et découvert peu après les poètes admirés par des Esseintes.⁵ Le "Tombeau d'Edgar Poe" avait déjà paru deux fois en volume: en 1884 dans les *Poèmes maudits* édités par Vannier et en 1888 dans les *Poèmes d'Edgar Poe, Traduction de Stéphane Mallarmé* publiés chez Deman à Bruxelles. La première entrevue avec Mallarmé est d'octobre 1891. L'auteur de "L'Après-midi d'un faune" a ce jour-là beaucoup parlé de Villiers auquel Valéry, rentré à Montpellier, consacra une conférence à l'Association des Etudiants.⁷

Le nom de Poe, ineffable, il nous faut le deviner derrière ces mots: "Le nom radieux de *quelqu'un*." Or il y a dans une lettre de Valéry à Gide datée du 30 mai 1891 un passage qui présente une curieuse ressemblance avec celui-ci:

Le nom de quelqu'un tient plus d'espace dans nos cerveaux que le monde; et l'espoir candide dont le reflet nous illumine vaguement comme une approche d'aurore éteint de sa clarté l'écroulement même d'une étoile sur un soleil.⁸

Le rapprochement paraît concluant si l'on admet que ce "quelqu'un," c'est aussi Poe. Il est souvent question de ce poète entre Gide et Valéry. Dans une lettre du 16 mai qui, dans l'édition de Robert Mallet, précède immédiatement celle dont nous avons extrait une phrase, nous lisons:

J'ai le cerveau irradié et comme dispersé—et pour lectures ces temps-ci encore,

4. Christophe Colomb, pp. 54-55.

5. André Gide-Paul Valéry, *Correspondance. 1890-1942*. Préface et Notes par Robert Mallet (Paris, 1955), p. 49, n. 4.

6. Gide-Valéry, *Correspondance*, p. 129, n. 3; et J. P. Monod, *Regard sur Paul Valéry* (Lausanne, 1948), pp. 24-25.

7. Voir J. P. Monod, pp. 26-27.

8. Gide-Valéry, *Correspondance*, p. 87.

des livres comme *les Confessions* de de Quincey, *l'Education sentimentale*, et surtout et toujours et sans pouvoir m'arracher à cet opium vertigineux et comme mathématique: Poe, Poe!⁹

Il ne faudrait pas s'étonner du caractère liturgique du vocabulaire de Valéry dans le compte rendu que nous reproduisons, ni de l'intérêt qu'il porte à la "race catholique et suprême des Baudelaire, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam." A cette époque, Valéry était encore très attaché à sa religion, peut-être pas en pratiquant mais en tout cas en esthète. Les lettres à Gide (voir par exemple celle du 6 mars 1891, pp. 62-63 de l'édition Mallet), celles adressées à Fourment, et le "Paradoxe sur l'architecte" le montrent assez.

Quant à l'intérêt de Valéry pour Bloy, nous avons la preuve qu'il a lu peu après leur sortie de presse *La Femme pauvre* et *Je m'accuse*. Mais son sentiment sur ces deux œuvres est bien différent de ceux de "M. D." Le 2 juin 1897, il signale à Mallarmé le premier de ces livres qu'il décrit ainsi:

[...] recueil de nouvelles injures, dans lequel, autour d'une histoire incorrecte de la mort de Villiers (Bohémond de l'Ile-de-France), Huysmans (Folantin) est maltraité de la plus sale et de la plus odieuse façon... D'ailleurs un Marchenoir sublime est là pour le contraste...¹⁰

Et en 1900, touchant *Je m'accuse*, il mande à Gide:

Bloy vient de faire un livre contre Zola. C'est rempli d'excréments mais il y en a tant que c'est presque imposant. Enfin je me suis tordu à la lecture. Donc reconnaissance et gloire à l'auteur.¹¹

Nous ne croyons pas que ces jugements soient nécessairement en contradiction avec l'identification de M. D. avec Paul Valéry. Il suffit de suivre année par année l'abondante correspondance avec Gide pour se rendre compte de l'évolution qui a porté le jeune Montpelliérain décadent et mystique de 1891 à la maturité critique de *Monsieur Teste*. D'autres inédits viendront peut-être confirmer cette attribution que nous proposons à l'attention des valérystes.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

10. H. Mondor, *Vie de Mallarmé* (Paris, 1941), p. 775.

11. Gide-Valéry, *Correspondance*, p. 374.

THE UNHEARD MELODY OF SAINT-JOHN PERSE

By Arthur J. Knodel

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AN ASTONISHING organism without heredity or parentage, a product of some mysterious kind of literary spontaneous generation—that is how the poetry of Saint-John Perse continues to appear. An occasional figure reminiscent of Mallarmé or Rimbaud, a random syntactical turn or rhythm that recalls the earlier Claudel, a faint similarity in tone to Segalen are so scattered and slight that they merely reinforce the essential uniqueness of this poetry. By contrast, the poetics that helped Perse achieve this originality is comparatively easy to "situate"; its genealogical tree, so to speak, may be fairly easily drawn up.

His poetics is set forth in a small number of published letters or fragments of letters, in scattered passages of the poems themselves, and, to a lesser extent, in the short obituary pieces Perse has devoted to Larbaud, Gide, and Claudel respectively. One of the most recent and arresting statements of this poetics is a letter dated August, 1956, and addressed to one of the editors of the review in which it was later published.¹ The letter is a recapitulation of most of Perse's previous declarations, but its special interest resides in the addition of the startling concept of a strictly *anti-sonic* poetry. Not only is the concept of interest in itself, but it is especially illuminating when we approach Perse's long later poems.

The letter in question is written in a prose at once fluent and ceremonious, quite recognizably from the pen that wrote *Anabase* and *Exil*. Here we must do violence to the piece by isolating and stating baldly its main points. The principal idea around which the letter is organized is an antithesis between poetry written in English ("Anglo-Saxon poetry," Perse calls it) and modern French poetry. The former, we are told, is, by the very nature of the English language, discursive, expository, and exoteric. It is, hence, naturally destined for oral recitation. Modern French poetry, on the other hand, is elliptical, intuitive, and esoteric. (Perse would have us understand the last term in its strictly etymological sense of "instruite et animée 'de l'intérieur.'") The modern French poet, he continues, seeks to identify himself with the object of his poetic concern

1. "Une Lettre de Saint-John Perse" (addressed to George Huppert), *The Berkeley Review* (Winter, 1956), pp. 34-41 (subsequently reproduced under the title "Une lettre de Saint-John Perse sur l'expression poétique française," in *Livres de France* [janvier, 1959], pp. 7-8). A convenient summary of earlier statements by Saint-John Perse regarding his poetics is to be found in the supplement entitled "Éléments pour un Art poétique," in Roger Caillols' *Poétique de Saint-John Perse* (Paris, 1954), pp. 161-81.

and even seeks to merge himself with his poem in a *transe* that goes far beyond meditation. The result is that modern French poems, by their very nature, *cannot* be recited orally, "se refusent [...] même à toute lecture intime faite à voix haute—fût-ce par l'auteur lui-même et pour lui-même" (p. 40). Such oral exteriorization, by the instantaneous and final quality of spoken communication, automatically suppresses most of the aura of tangential meanings that surrounds all words; and this means that the very essence of modern French poetry, which seeks to tap the contextual richness of language to the utmost, would be destroyed. The modern French poem "ne serait encore fait que pour l'oreille interne" (p. 40), in short, is rigorously anti-sonic.

Though there is much that is familiar in the foregoing declaration, surely some of the conclusions drawn by Perse are startling—especially to an Anglo-Saxon reader. One may immediately wonder to what extent Perse is really speaking for the great body of modern French poets from, let us say, Mallarmé to the present day. But that consideration is relatively unimportant, because we *do* know that Perse is certainly speaking for himself. Many recent and present-day French poets would indeed subscribe to the assertion that what they write is elliptical, intuitive, and esoteric. That preliminary proposition, indeed, permits us to situate Perse's poetics in a familiar historical context. In fact, Perse formulates this fundamental premise in well-known, traditionally symbolist terms: "Ainsi s'exerce librement, pour cette 'appréhension' totale et cette 'transsubstantiation' finale à quoi tend essentiellement le poème français, un jeu, très allusif et mystérieux, d'analogies secrètes ou de correspondances, et même d'associations multiples, à la limite du saisissable" (p. 40).

To this assertion, which any of the symbolist poets of the 1880's and 1890's would have approved, Perse adds another important element: he insists on the supreme importance of movement and on the necessity of the poet's "merging" with the movement that is in all things. This element is already latent in many of the earlier symbolists, but it was the increasing vogue of Bergsonism after 1900 that led a somewhat later generation of poets to formulate it as a poetic principle.² Perse, however, connects his insistence on movement with a much older philosophy than Bergsonism; he ties it in with pre-Socratic "rheism"—chiefly the Heraclitean flux, one supposes. In an earlier text Perse wrote:

[...] la poésie pour moi est avant tout mouvement—dans sa naissance comme sa croissance et son élargissement final. La philosophie même du "poète" me semble pouvoir se ramener, essentiellement, au vieux "rhéisme" élémentaire de la pensée antique—comme celle, en Occident, de nos Pré-Socratiques. Et sa mé-

2. Especially those poets connected with the periodical *Vers et Prose*. The most explicit statement of this Bergsonian influence on poetics may be found in Tancrède de Visan, *L'Attitude du lyrisme contemporain* (Paris, 1911).

trique aussi, qu'on lui impute à rhétorique, ne tend encore qu'au mouvement et à la fréquentation du mouvement, dans toutes ses ressources vivantes, les plus imprévisibles. D'où l'importance en tout, pour le poète, de la Mer.³

In the letter we are principally considering, Perse incorporates this view into the very definition of the poem, or, more exactly, of the modern French poem, of which he says: "[...] elle *devient* la chose même qu'elle 'appréhende,' qu'elle évoque ou suscite; faisant plus que mimer, elle *est*, finalement, cette chose elle-même, dans son mouvement et sa durée; elle la vit et 'l'agit,' unanimement [...]" (p. 36). But even that does not suffice. Perse goes on to posit what can only be called a "dimensional" congruence between the poem and its subject-matter; this poetry not only lives the thing and animates it totally, "(elle) se doit donc fidèlement de la suivre, avec diversité, dans sa mesure propre et dans son rythme propre: largement et longuement, s'il s'agit par exemple de la mer ou du vent; étroitement et promptement, s'il s'agit de l'éclair" (p. 36).

It is not our intention here to re-examine the much-discussed complexities of this dynamic view of poetry, but it may nevertheless be pointed out that the last assertion quoted is a disquietingly vague one. One may agree that, in a very crude sense, the "measure and rhythm" of lightning are compressed and brief, while those of the sea are extended and cumulative; but it is difficult to imagine what the imposed measure and rhythm of a mountain-range, a volcanic eruption, or Saint Elmo's fire may be, not to mention such dimensionless entities as hatred, foreboding, restlessness, and a hundred other affects and attitudes.

However, the declaration in question is couched in essentially figurative language, a mode of expression so natural to the poet that one is perhaps unfair in expecting him to put it aside even when he is talking *about* poetry. And one would then also be unfair in trying to reduce the statement to abstract general terms. May it not be that in the passage in question Perse is simply seeking to express as urgently as possible the completeness which he requires of the poet in experiencing whatever he is writing about? In his latest poem, the magnificent *Amers*, a celebration of the sea without parallel in French literature, we find the poet saying of his "chant de mer":

... et c'est la mer en nous qui le chantera ...

The poet indeed attempts to be the sea. But a little farther along in the poem it is said:

Et de la Mer elle-même il ne sera question,
mais de son règne au coeur de l'homme ...

That puts the matter more precisely, for whatever is experienced can

3. Cailliois, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81.

indeed only be expressed in terms of "its reign in the heart of man." But so deeply must this reign be felt that certain rhythms and images will imperiously *impose* themselves, as if they really were some inherent quality of the thing experienced. And here once again many—but certainly not all—recent and present-day French poets would acknowledge Perse as their spokesman.

But how widely shared among French poets, one wonders, is the view that Anglo-Saxon poetry is discursive, expository, and exoteric, and that these characteristics arise from qualities inherent in the English language, which Perse describes as "d'ordre très concret, très substantiel et sensoriel" (p. 38)? One can at least be sure that many an English and American writer would take issue with the statement. But debating the point would involve a lengthy examination of the phonological, lexical, and even morphological differences between English and French, as well as a comparative study of English and French prosody. Since our main interest, however, is in Perse's anti-sonic conclusion as it applies to his own poetry, may it suffice here to point out a curious paradox that arises if Perse's view of the nature of the English tongue and of its poetry is rigorously applied.

No one is likely to quarrel with Perse when he says in his letter (p. 38) that French poets had to react violently against an excessive and desiccating rationalism in a way that English poets never had to. But it is curious to note that outstanding rebels in the French fight against rationalism in poetry found their most effective weapons in certain poems written in English, especially those by Edgar Allan Poe. When Baudelaire and Mallarmé appealed to Poe as a model, they were certainly doing so because they found his verse eminently *anti-discursive*, *anti-expository*, and very "interior" in character. And Poe is not alone in the Anglo-American tradition but takes his place in a long line that stretches at least from Coleridge through Dylan Thomas. It is perfectly true that much poetry in English is discursive and expository; in fact, frankly didactic poetry has even come into its own again in such verse—often highly successful—as we find, for example, in W. H. Auden.

But the untenability of any sharp antithesis between English and French poetry becomes even more apparent when we consider the conclusion to which Perse has been leading: namely that modern French poetry is intended exclusively for the "inner ear," "l'oreille d'un 'sourd'—comme celle de Beethoven [...]" (p. 40), in short, for silent reading; whereas English poetry, by its very nature, is one destined for oral recitation.

This conclusion must come as a surprise to many a student of French letters, for if ever there was a country where the tradition of oral recitation was and still is vigorously alive, it is France. One cannot forget

that some of the greatest monuments of French poetry were written expressly for the stage, the poet thereby taking the "oral situation" for granted. Perse might reply that it is precisely against the histrionic tradition, from Corneille through Hugo and Rostand, that modern French poets have rebelled, and that anti-sonic poetry is one of the final phases in the violent reaction against rationalistic desiccation. But such an assertion is hardly borne out by what actually happened. At the Tuesdays of Mallarmé, where poetry was indeed conceived as utterance pushed to the verge of silence, the reading aloud of poems was taken for granted. And Paul Claudel, the poet to whom Perse is most frequently, though uncritically, compared, was so enamored of the oral-recitation aspect of poetry that he devoted his main effort to writing for the stage. In another current of modern French poetry, Apollinaire and his group were not averse to reading poems aloud; and the finest flower of surrealism, Paul Eluard, actually read some of his favorite poems in a series of radio broadcasts. If the French language as a poetic medium is really anti-sonic, then it is difficult to conceive how, over a period of centuries, the essential spirit of the language should have been so consistently and brutally violated. I do not believe that really has been the case.

But then, I am convinced that the sonorous elements in language are part of the very tissue of *all* poetry, and that consequently all poetry is intended to be heard. Even though it is intended only for an "inner ear"—in fact, just as long as *any* ear is involved—poetry is necessarily sonic. The deaf Beethoven strained agonizingly to hear his music, and even his last compositions were intended to be played and heard.

But then, it is perhaps that very mention of Beethoven in Perse's letter that leads us astray. I am wondering whether a comparison involving Bach might not have been somewhat more apposite? *The Art of the Fugue*, as Bach left it to us, is purely *virtual* music, not scored for any instrument and apparently intended for the delectation of the musician capable of "reading" the score and imagining the sounds. It is quite possible that the actual playing of *The Art of the Fugue* (as it is now performed on the concert stage) conveys only a poor, watered-down version of all that Bach put into his score, and that only the musician sufficiently versed to be able to "read" the score silently can fully "hear" all that is in the work. In short, I am wondering whether Perse might assent to a slight modification of his view, a modification to the effect that modern French poetry, or at least his own magnificent contribution thereto, must remain in a "virtual," audibly non-realized state to be fully enjoyed, and hence must not be imprisoned in the "instrumentation" of any human voice? However that may be, Perse's insisting that his own poetry is not intended to, nay, *must not* be read aloud must come as somewhat of a shock to the numerous readers who have delighted in

the balance and melody of many a Persean strophe and who may even have committed the sacrilege of reading a passage or two aloud. It was my initial bafflement on reading this anti-oral declaration that led me to write these lines. But the more I have thought about the matter, the more I have come to feel that Perse's insistence is well-founded and helpful to his readers.

The source of irritation that led Perse to expound his whole comparison between English and French poetry and to make his startling "anti-sonic" conclusion was, as he explicitly states in the letter, the mistaken notion which some Anglo-Saxon critics have that "les longues suites poétiques françaises" (p. 40), of which *Vents* and *Amers* are outstanding examples, are rhetorical and verbalistic, not to say discursive and expository, and represent an abandonment of condensed, elliptical poetic diction such as we find, for example, in *Eloges* or *Amitié du Prince*.

As one of the Anglo-Saxon readers who did indeed say that Perse's later long poems seemed to replace ellipse with an exfoliating proliferation of imagery that occasionally lapsed into rhetorical complaisance,⁴ I was one of those who erred. And though the foregoing pages indicate that at times I would prefer to follow paths slightly different from those traced in Perse's letter, there is now no longer any serious doubt in my mind as to the rightness of the goal towards which the path led.

If the very long poems are elliptical in structure and omit transitional material, then the individual terms, the *units*, that are juxtaposed must be much longer than the units in the earlier poems. And so, within each unit there is likely to be quite a complex pattern of parallel constructions, of recurrent rhythms with gradual variation, of basic images enriched by successive projection under different lighting, so to speak. The building-blocks of the total elliptical structure may thus become very large. Yet each unit must be apprehended as such and allowed to fall into place naturally in the reader's mind. Now, only repeated silent reading, wherein no time is lost in formation of spoken sounds, wherein the mind can present a maximum receptivity to those multiple analogies and correspondences and associations which, Perse tells us, operate "à la limite du saisissable" (p. 40)—only such silent reading will permit apprehension of the organic completeness of each unit. Only the inner ear can hear as a single chord the complex harmonic structure of the very large "monads" of these later poems; and then all the more will it be true that the *succession* of chords can be fused into a melody only by that same inner ear.

Such an approach has made possible the triumph of a very special kind of long poem. We have seen that Perse's poetics takes its place in the

4. In Arthur J. Knodel, "The Imagery of Saint-John Perse's *Neiges*," *PMLA*, LXX (1955), 8.

movement initiated by Baudelaire. But with the appearance of *Exil* and the subsequent long poems, Perse may have achieved what Baudelaire, following Poe, declared to be an impossibility: namely, a long poem that is poetry *throughout*. I can think of no entirely successful poems in modern French that run longer than Apollinaire's "Chanson du mal-aimé" or Valéry's "La Jeune Parque" (the partisans of Péguy or La Tour du Pin notwithstanding) unless they may be *Vents* and *Amers*. But Perse is right in insisting that such sequences as *Vents* and *Amers* shall be read as if they were never intended for auditory reception; for only as music addressed to the inner ear can their cumulative poetic impact possibly come through. And even then they make tremendous demands on the reader and require a certain initial patience and blind faith, for there is no narrative thread which the reader may pick up when he feels lost; there is no logical discourse that may be followed and "held on to" as one passes from unit to unit. Transitional material and expository connectives are eliminated in a daring attempt to make these long poems remain poetry from the first through the last line.

The demands on the reader are indeed great. Are they excessive? The acclaim that has already been bestowed on Perse would seem to indicate that there are many like myself who think the demands are not too great and who accept with pleasure Saint-John Perse's invitation to those sumptuous *fêtes du silence* entitled *Exil*, *Vents*, *Amers* . . . Perse may be the poet who has given us the most unexpected and spectacular proof yet, if one may quote an exoteric Anglo-Saxon poet, that unheard melodies are indeed sweeter.

REVIEWS

Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento. Di Francesco A. Ugolini. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1959. Pp. 186. This work describes a notable discovery: a series of original Abruzzian texts found in the *Codex Celestinus*, once owned by Pope Celestine IV, who died in 1296, and now kept in the Museum of Sacred Art of Aquila.

The Italian texts cover folios CLXI *recto* to CLXVII *recto*, toward the end of the *Codex*, and are all apparently written by the same hand. Paleographic evidence indicates that the manuscript was written in the second half of the thirteenth century, which would make these texts the earliest on record from the Abruzzi region, antedating by perhaps as much as half a century the *Pianto delle Marie*, for whose place of origin, at any rate, the Marche region between Macerata and Fermo seems more likely.

Ugolini, whose examination of all features of these new texts, historical, paleographic, metrical and linguistic, is admirably thorough, states in a foreword that "the new thirteenth-century Abruzzian texts here presented definitely prove the existence of a technical tradition different from the Sicilian and the Tuscan." Not only are we in complete agreement, but we should be tempted to carry the matter a little further.

The Italian texts described by Ugolini include: 1. A *Lamentatio Beate Marie de Filio* in verse, consisting of 30 four-verse strophes, in which the rhyme is occasionally replaced by assonance; the meter is decasyllabic, with caesura after the fifth syllable; 2. an untitled series of *Proverbia*; 64 four-verse strophes, Alexandrine meter, with regular rhyme; 3. four *Orationes*, described as A. *Oratio Vulgaris* (6 lines); B. *Oratio* (9 verses followed by a very brief prose passage); C. *Oratio ad Christum* (4 verses); D. *Oratio ad Beatam Mariam* (9 verses); in all of these, assonance predominates.

Linguistically, these texts are characteristic of their region (Ugolini fully describes the language features in connection with each text). Of particular linguistic interest is the distinction (pp. 59-60) between original Latin final -o and final -u, and between original Latin masculine and neuter singular forms; it is possible that Ugolini stretches the evidence somewhat, but in this he is accompanied by other distinguished Romanicists.¹ In his study of the language of the *Orationes* (p. 103), Ugolini points to the form *nnin*, in D5, which he claims has the meaning "to us," and uses it to bolster his claim about *ni* in verse 76 of the *Ritmo Cassinese*;² without necessarily contradicting his interpretation in connection with either document, it seems to us that the meaning "to us" is not fully demonstrated in verses that run:

Pregote ke nnin aiuti
So cadutu ni peccati

ka so multu sfevele,
et non me poço ergere,

1. Gerhard Rohlfs, *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, Bern, Francke, 1949, I, 241-42. After assuring us that in certain south Italian dialects the outcome of Latin final -u is -u and that of final -o is -o, Rohlfs faces us with the fact that in these same dialects Latin -mus appears as -mo, without explanation. Ugolini at least postulates a Vulgar Latin *-mos, for which there seems to be no documentary evidence.

2. Francesco Ugolini, *Testi antichi italiani*, p. 152 ff.

particularly since everywhere else in the *Oratio* the speaker refers to himself in the first person singular, never in the first plural.

In a lengthy Appendix that has the same features of scholarly thoroughness as the study of the texts, Ugolini offers the *Pianto delle Marie* and the *Proverbi Morali di Frate Jacopo da Todi* as a standard of comparison for his more recent findings, and further to prove his point that a full-fledged technical tradition existed on the Adriatic coast independently of earlier or later Sicilian and Tuscan developments, which seems undeniable. Earlier in his work (pp. 18-22) Ugolini goes into a detailed comparison of the versification of his early Italian texts and the *Passion du Christ* of the Clermont poems, to reach the conclusion that there may have been a liturgical link, fostered by the Benedictine monks, between poems that seem destined to be sung or chanted in the churches.

The link between Old French religious poetry and the religious poetry of Italy seems to us to be even more intimate. If we leave the field of versification to enter that of forms of expression, and use as our French model not so much the *Passion* as the later *Alexis*, we find some parallels between the style, wording and concepts of the latter and those of the Italian texts offered by Ugolini which may be fortuitous, but are nevertheless striking.

Compare, for example, the first of the three Monte Cassino verses of the second half of the twelfth century cited by Ugolini (p. 9) with the third verse of *laisse* 91 of the *Alexis*:³

Cassino: *Eo te portai nillu meo ventre*

Alexis: iate portai en men ventre

Compare also verse 269 of the *Pianto delle Marie*, or verse 47 of the *Lamentatio*, with the end of verse 2 and the beginning of verse 4 of *laisse* 92 of the *Alexis*:

Pianto: Ora te veio sì angostiusu (Lam.: ore te veio scì angustusu)

Alexis: Or te vei mort . . . sin fui mult angussuse

Or compare verses 263-64 of the *Pianto* with verse 5 of the *Alexis' laisse* 29:

Pianto: Entrasti ad fare sì grande onore; Or è voltato en gran desonore

Alexis: Sa grant honur agrant dol ad aturnede

These are only three of many possible comparisons. It may be said that the expression of a mother's grief for her dead son tends to follow the same pattern. Still, the similarities of expression arrest one's attention. It is indeed unfortunate that the loss of the second half of the manuscript of the *Ritmo marchigiano di Sant'Alessio* precludes a more searching investigation into this possibly fruitful source of early international literary relations. (MARIO A. PEI, *Columbia University*)

Recherches sur la structure et l'origine des vers romans. Par Michel Burger. Genève: Droz, 1957. Pp. 188. On page 82 the author quotes the well-known words of L. Gautier: "La versification française est d'origine latine; cette proposition est depuis longtemps passée à l'état d'axiome. Mais c'est peut-être, dans cet ordre d'idées, le seul point sur lequel les érudits sont d'accord." The situa-

3. W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Uebungsbuch*, Heilbronn, Henninger, 1884, pp. 145, 115.

tion has not changed a great deal since these words were written and the present book, excellent though it is, is not likely to bring harmony among scholars. The author begins, wisely in the opinion of this reviewer, by rejecting any influence of music upon metrical developments. He recognizes, as does everyone, that much of the poetry he discusses was designed to be sung, but he is also of the opinion that the meter emerged independently of the music and that the poems were "set" in the modern sense of the term. This means, of course, that he rejects the ideas of Beck and his school completely. As he states clearly at the beginning of his work, M. Burger believes that the pattern of *levées* and *posées* (*arses* and *theses*), present in Latin quantitative verse, was preserved, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the Romance languages; but he does not believe that there was, at any period, a consistent, deliberate attempt to make the *theses* coincide with the word accent. Only at the end of the line and sometimes before the cesura does he see any deliberate coincidence. It is clear that such a theory runs counter to much commonly accepted doctrine, and the author therefore proceeds to an analysis of the commoner types of Romance verse-forms—the decasyllable, the *arte mayor*, the alexandrine, the hendecasyllable, etc., before attempting any historical treatment. His method is interesting and, within limits, productive of results. Questions of the position of the word accent are ignored. The variations within a type are discussed entirely with reference to the position of the cesura. Thus the variant forms of the decasyllable are shown as 4+6, 3'+6, and later and more rarely, 6+4, 6'+4, and later, 4'+5, where the numbers represent syllables and the symbol ' an unaccented syllable before the cesura. Where this symbol does not appear, it is assumed that there is an accent (corresponding to a word accent) immediately before the cesura and at the end of a line. Otherwise word accents may be in any position in the line. This system, which owes much to Suchier, allows Monsieur Burger to demonstrate successfully that the metrical patterns did not, as is often stated, originate in one country and spread to others, but that they arose independently in all Romance lands. Thus the decasyllable did not originate in France and spread to Italy but can be found in early works in both countries.

The author analyzes all the metrical patterns by this method, noting only syllable count, position of cesura, and position of the two accents already mentioned. It may easily be seen that such a method is very flexible. If we again use the decasyllable as an example, the method is simply to decide whether the cesura falls after the fourth (accented), fifth (unaccented), or sixth (accented) syllable. One may ask whether such a system, which must include virtually all types of decasyllabic line, is really a categorization at all. It is true that the author establishes the greater frequency of the 4+6 type, but such evidence has little positive historical value. It allows comparison between the metrical forms of the various Romance lands but throws little light on the question of the importance of the accent either historically or esthetically.

Monsieur Burger's examination of the historical transition of the Latin iambic line, especially of the lines used in the "Ambrosian" hymn form, is excellent. He takes the trouble to examine the statistics of coincidence between *posée* and word accent and demonstrates, conclusively in this reviewer's opinion, that close correspondence was inevitable once the principle had been accepted of avoid-

ing initial and final disyllables and resolutions of long syllables (p. 87). The Merovingian poets, who no longer had any feeling for quantity, imitated those features of the Ambrosian hymn which they could understand—a fixed number of syllables, irregularly distributed accents within the line, and the fixed position of the final accent. The question of “transition” from quantity to accent thus hardly arises. Latin verse written quantitatively is understood only as having a set number of syllables and accent positions. The position of the caesura might vary but there was inevitably a caesura about the middle of the line.

It is not hard to foresee the further developments of the hypothesis. Each Romance line is derived from a Latin line having the same number of syllables, e.g., the *arte mayor* from the Lesser Asclepiad. It is hard to dispute the plausibility of the theory, but one may well ask whether it provides any real answer to the problems of early Romance verse. This reviewer is not so sure as Monsieur Burger appears to be that we know the position of the word accent at all periods of the history of Latin versification. Beare's recent book, *Latin Verse and European Song*, discusses the matter and is unable to reach any definite conclusions. Lack of such knowledge makes it very hard to decide whether we are justified in ignoring the position of accent except in two positions. Even more important is the question of the basis of the line. Are we to assume that the writers had no interest in rhythmic structure? It may very well be that imitative Latin poets were content to reproduce syllabic patterns that had little or no rhythmic or quantitative significance for them. Generations of Neo-Latinists did the same thing. But it is much harder to believe this for Romance poetry, for there can be no question of conscious scholarly imitation. It would seem that one may accept the thesis in this book as a kind of interim solution. The next step must be the analysis of the rhythmic patterns, a much harder task and one already frequently attempted. It should be done in the way already so well demonstrated by Monsieur Burger, namely objectively, without reference to music or preconceived patterns and by the employment of rigid but sympathetic statistical analysis. Such an analysis would in no way invalidate the conclusions reached in this book. It would merely supplement them. (W. T. H. JACKSON, *Columbia University*)

In Praise of Love. By Maurice Valency. New York: Macmillan, 1958. Pp. xi+319. In the dust-jacket commentary Mark Van Doren remarks that the author of this book assumes no previous knowledge in the reader: “he writes as if nobody had ever heard of the troubadours and so he leaves nothing essential out.” This is a clear judgment of one aspect of this splendid book, but it is equally true that anyone with an amateur but engaged interest in this theme will profit immensely by Professor Valency's volume. The book contains a vast amount of information unknown to the general medievalist and it is assimilated in a masterful fashion. The specialist may find quarrel in minor matters, but the total result is beyond the reach of complaint. The learning, revealed and suppressed, that plays through the book lifts it above the ordinary scholarly monograph, and no reader can escape the sensitive charm of the renderings of poems in a difficult language and the author's good-natured wit.

Professor Valency is, of course, not the first scholar to attempt a book on this

theme. There was Waitz in 1849 and Korting in 1868; there were essays before these accumulations, and, as the bibliography in this book indicates, there have been many efforts since. This is, however, the first successful attempt to see the whole evolution of romantic love from the green roots in Southern Europe until it became the noblest rose on the rose tree. To trace the whole process of the evolution of passion into devotion, Valency begins properly in classical times and, hence, is able to start his journey from the right station.

The troubadours made a virtue of the love of women. The ancients normally regarded it as a vice, and this view they passed on to the church fathers, who remained in this respect, as in so many others, staunch supporters of the classical tradition.

The attitude of Catullus towards his Lesbia is frankly not unlike that of Sappho towards the girls, and it was the classical lady who trembled when the armed hero entered the room. It might be observed, too, that among the Latin elegiac poets, love was like playing the stock market, sometimes as an outsider and sometimes as a member of the board. There are tender moments—Andromache detaining Hector—but the capital figure is the wise Odysseus who carried the moly, as one classical poet put it, through all the ladies of the Aegean isles. Valency is correct in pointing to the major pattern: "Greek mythology made of Zeus a somewhat preoccupied Don Juan, a philandering and hag-ridden husband, the apotheosis of the Greek traveling man." The average Greek and Latin knight was made in the image of his maker. With Christianity, divine romance gave way to artificial insemination, and so the wife took to loving her husband because she loved God, and sometimes she loved him in about the same way.

The ancient and monkish attitudes on the passion for the adverse sex was altered by True Love, who taught his disciples not to desire and conquer, "but to serve and adore." The disciples were those who did not seek "temporary appeasement," but "perpetual benediction." The knight and the troubadour, often one and the same man, incorporated to make rhetoric of this position. They had some late classical predecessors of whom they probably never heard; the compilations of Cephala and Planudes suggest that Provence did not invent the joys of romantic love. "It is quite enough to say that in their day they discovered it." The songs that they made took a lady for the obvious subject, but the real center was always the knightly wooer. He never stepped out of the sun. In reality, as Valency notices, the knight was interested in deeds and not in women; so the ladies rimed by him or his laureates were likely to be untainted inaccuracies.

The stories of indomitable heroes who, after wading all day in seas of blood, at sunset lean moodily upon their swords and contemplate the vast field of the slain, came into being, it has been remarked, at precisely the time when battles were relatively bloodless scuffles. Similarly the humble posture which the knight assumes at his lady's feet in the troubadour love song proceeded from the poet's imagination in an age when the social status of women was in general not too much above that of the horse.

Actually, the medieval lady needed a massive body-guard more than a poet; and when the records are read through the lenses of actuality, she seems to be

a moron incapable of selecting a husband or managing any matters that involved property or power; but for the poets she was the single scarlet flower, the mirror of perfection, the gold star in the black night. She served in marriage, says Valency, and was served in love. The poet was a kind of emotional insurance.

But the troubadour who served her was not the suppliant knight; "he was a song-writer in guise of the suppliant knight." His song was not heart-felt; he put on paper what the aristocratic audience would like to hear the archetypal lover say. The modern equivalent is unavoidable. The knight is the shipping clerk; the lady is a secretary by day; the troubadours work for the publishers of popular music. Now the manner of the song was either rich and ornamented, *trobar ric*, or paradoxical and ambiguous, *trobar clus*. The latter song challenged the wits of the hearers and begot the "dark style" of the Renaissance. None of it is very original; banality could not be avoided, and there is always a surface formula. What is not felt much does not make verse.

It required the *stilnovisti* to examine the nature of romantic love and invent a new song. As Valency observes, these newcomers to the cult of the gold violet inspected the passion with instruments unknown to the troubadours. Love which was a game played according to rules became a science of a neurotic nature. Dr. Freud waits in the wings. The new men pondered whether love was a substance or an accident. How could the lover, absent in body, be present in mind? What is the psychology of fascination? Thanks to this interior hunting about, love became poetry and it was a poetry "capable of the utmost sonority and the most varied music." The knight lays off his armour and sells his horse. Under the new dispensation, he becomes "a pale youth [...] sitting pensive in a city square," a youth with "a neurotic interest in his own psyche," whose "eyes look inward." Thanks to this self-examination and its eventual results, the lady, who never was very human, can become an angel and the poet can stand safely at the entrance to the *Vita Nuova*, sure of shelter when the golden headed arrows whistle through the streets.

The review of this book sends me back to the previous attempt of C. S. Lewis, a work now considered a little classic and one mentioned with respect by Professor Valency. The purpose and the precincts of both books are different, and Lewis' book certainly lightened Valency's way. There is, however, no question that Lewis would have profited by having *In Praise of Love* at hand. The section on *The Romance of the Rose* wherein Lewis reads what Lewis, and not the poets of the piece, wrote would perhaps be less misleading, and the subsequent observations on the English poets might be in better adjustment to the poetic tradition. It is not to be assumed that Valency's book makes *The Allegory of Love* obsolete, but it certainly shows it to be less important and less valuable to literary scholarship. (D. C. ALLEN, *The Johns Hopkins University*)

Petrarch's Eight Years in Milan. By Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. Pp. xx+266. This work by the President of the Mediaeval Academy is the society's sixty-ninth publication and is a worthy fellow to its predecessors. Framed by short accounts of Petrarch's life before and

after his residence in Milan, the relation of his eight years in the city of the Visconti is full, accurate, and readable. Professor Wilkins exhibits again the thoroughness, judiciousness, and clarity which have characterized his previous work. So far as extant evidence permits, everything which Petrarch did or experienced is set out in the order of his experience, and thus his writing and revision of the works (especially the letters) by which we know him are integrated with the pattern of events which forms their context. Problematic points however small (the date of an event, the date or addressee of a letter, the identity of a caller, the authenticity of an attributed oration) are fully discussed and the views of other scholars fully considered, so that this may safely be consulted as the definitive reference for any scholarly inquiry touching Petrarch's life during the period which Professor Wilkins has undertaken to treat.

It is difficult to find the points of disagreement which a reviewer is traditionally held under a duty to provide, and in only minor respects can one take any issue with the author. Not all readers will assent to all his value judgments, for example that the poem beginning "Salve, cara Deo tellus sanctissima, salve" is "magnificent" (p. 66), or that the portion quoted from "De tristitia et miseria" is "a fine passage" (p. 66), although probably everyone will agree that it comes from a "ponderous treatise" (p. 66); but these are matters of judgment, and Professor Wilkins knows the texts more intimately than any other American or English scholar. There is an occasional freedom in attributing to Petrarch emotions deemed appropriate but not externally attested: "The receipt of this letter must have brought Petrarch mingled satisfaction and indignation: satisfaction, since it proved that his first letter had been received, considered, and thought worthy of an answer, and indignation, since the letter takes the position that the time is not appropriate for the Emperor to enter Italy" (p. 44). This may well be true, but although Petrarch had a continuing desire for a peaceful Italy ruled by native princes, it is conceivable that a man as experienced as he would realize that the high-sounding Latin oratory and correspondence fostered by political powers bore little relation to their practical decisions and so experience no particular emotion on receiving one of the counters in the rhetorical game. Similar passages occur elsewhere, but this is a minor matter and one can hardly say that Professor Wilkins' hypotheses lack verisimilitude.

A more interesting line of speculation is raised by Professor Wilkins opening sentence: "This book is an intimate biography of Petrarch for the long period of his residence in Milan" (p. v). If any person could write an intimate biography of Petrarch, Professor Wilkins is the man. He knows all that can be known, not only of the great creations of Petrarch's mind, but of whatever minutiae of daily life left any fossil, trace or imprint (for example, that on a given date Petrarch planted in his garden spinach, beets, fennel, and parsley, but that they did not do well because there was too much rain [pp. 39, 42]). But there is a difference between such homely incidents and knowing the man who figures in them, and Petrarch precludes intimacy; between himself and us he has dropped an impenetrable barrier of rhetoric. Even the garden note is objective, impersonal, and in Latin. What we have are Petrarch's Latin letters, and these are quasi-essays in the Ciceronian manner. Neri Morando writes that

a friend of Petrarch, Paolo Annibaldeschi, "died suddenly on beholding the body of his son, who had been killed while fighting in or near Rome. Replying on 20 April, in *Var.* 32, Petrarch rehearses at great length instances of classic behavior after the death of a son; and while expressing his grief for Paolo's overwhelming distress, commends rather the fortitude with which certain ancient Romans had borne such losses" (p. 93). Another friend, Nelli, seeks advice about a practical matter requiring immediate decision. "It was therefore of the utmost importance to Nelli that Petrarch should send him the requisite instructions at the earliest possible moment" (p. 34), so Petrarch writes "a long letter" which he cannot finish "ante crepusculum" and in which "after a learned introductory discussion of the history of legateship in general" he recounts various happenings at Milan and only then gets around to giving Nelli the advice he so urgently awaits. You cannot get on intimate terms with a man who writes his letters with one eye on publication. He hardly distinguishes between letter and treatise (see p. 68 for his use of the justifiability of praise as a subject for letters to different people and his plan to "treat it" elsewhere) and it is generally agreed that some of the letters *Sine nomine* were written simply for inclusion in the collection and were never intended to be sent (pp. 167-70). His letters to the ancient dead, like the well known one to Cicero, show that he regarded the letter as a literary form. Petrarch used to write about his personal affairs in Italian on a separate sheet which he enclosed with the Latin letter, but neither he nor his correspondents considered them worth preserving, and so the very basis of an intimate biography is lost to us. What remains is so often writing for writing's sake, or even writing Latin for the sake of writing Latin (Petrarch apparently kept his correspondents in a state of nerves about their inferior Latinity; see, for example, pp. 37, 74, 91). Since he chose to appear to us in a toga, we must renounce the hope of ever seeing him *en pantoufles*. In recompense we have this excellent and vivid portrait of him as he chose to be during his residence in Milan, which aptly joins Professor Wilkins' other valuable studies of his life and work. (EDWARD WILLIAMSON, *Wesleyan University*)

Le Style de Montaigne. Par Floyd Gray. Paris: Nizet, 1958. Pp. 262. *Le Style de Montaigne* is both a useful and a somewhat frustrating work. The first book-length study of a vast and relatively neglected subject, it is rich in illuminating observations; yet it is too small in compass to offer the wealth of examples that would carry full conviction. Though basically scholarly in substance as well as in form, it reveals a primarily critical approach,¹ and the demonstration is occasionally a bit impressionistic. A title such as *Du style de Montaigne* or *Essai sur le style de Montaigne* might prepare the reader better for the book.

It is in three approximately equal parts, followed by a Conclusion and a Bibliography: "La Structure des Essais" (the language; the sentence, the use of key parts of speech, and the tempo), "Les Eléments poétiques du style de Montaigne" (lyricism, alliteration and assonance, simile and imagery), and "La Composition des Essais" (comprising chapters on "L'Ordre extérieur," "L'Ordre intérieur," and "Le Point de vue de Montaigne"). As is perhaps inevitable in

1. Dr. Gray's favorite authorities seem to be Albert Thibaudet, Thibaudet's admirer Alfred Glauser, Bergson, Gide, Mallarmé, Proust, Sainte-Beuve, Valéry.

such studies, the parts are neither wholly inclusive nor wholly mutually exclusive.

A more disturbing enemy of solidity than the paucity of examples is the abundance of gratuitously sweeping statements. Some of these lead to self-contradiction. On page 12 we read that Montaigne "ne met pas un ordre dans ses pensées [...] l'ordre et le mouvement [...] proviennent de son être intérieur"; yet two chapters of Dr. Gray's Part Three contrast the imposed external order often found in the chapters of Books I-II of the *Essais* with the spontaneous internal order of those of Book III. Though Dr. Gray recognizes Montaigne's ever acute need of a true friend after the death of La Boétie (p. 100), he ignores Montaigne's own statement that he hopes to find another such friend by means of the *Essais* (III: 5; 1950 Pléiade edition, p. 942) and indeed (it seems to me) the very publication of the *Essais*, when he says that Montaigne writes solely for himself, that "il n'a aucun désir de communiquer avec qui que ce soit" (p. 15). The beautiful confusion of the *Essais* is presented (p. 14) as "une indication de l'absence de tout art, d'un style qui existe en dépit de l'art"; yet we learn on page 19 that "Son art consiste à se conformer à sa nature [...]." We read on page 46 that "Il n'y a pas de mots inutiles dans la prose de Montaigne," but on page 51 that "plus tard Montaigne supprime beaucoup de ces mots superflus [...]."

Other statements, though not leading to self-contradiction, are also unfortunately simplistic. "Montaigne n'a aucun désir de nous faire croire quoi que ce soit [...]" (p. 17), "Montaigne écrit une œuvre où l'utilité n'a aucun rôle [...]" (p. 73), or again (p. 163): "Montaigne propose toute une philosophie de la paresse, de la mollesse." Yet again (p. 199) "Montaigne ne parle pas de lui-même dans l'*Apologie* [...]. Cet essai est peut-être le seul où il n'y ait pas de phrases à la première personne." Dr. Gray seems to class Montaigne (p. 103 among those prose poets who write "comme s'ils ne pouvaient concevoir une phrase plus longue qu'un vers"; but what does this make of such marathon sentences as the description of Alexander the Great in II: 36, which occupies about two pages (843-45) in the Pléiade edition, or the one-page passage on female concupiscence in III: 5 (955-56)? Montaigne's letter of February 16, 1588 to Matignon is number 34, not 27, and the incident it relates is probably not the same that appears near the end of "De la phisionomie" (III: 12, 1192-93; cf. Gray, p. 248).² I do not think we know what Dr. Gray states on page 189 about Montaigne's letter (No. 2) on the death of La Boétie: "C'était peut-être une lettre à son père d'abord, mais il l'a arrangée ensuite pour la publication." Nor do I think that Dr. Gray has adequately shown what he once (p. 247) claims to have shown: "On a déjà vu que le style qu'il [Montaigne] s'attribue n'est pas du tout le style qu'il a."

A final criticism is this. Many of the general statements are hard, for this reviewer at least, to relate pertinently to the text. I can enjoy the neatness of

2. Apart from the contradictions between the two stories (strong-box returned or not; etc.) and some unlikelihood that Montaigne wrote this story into his 1588 *Essais* after reaching Paris, it seems to me almost incredible that he could write, so soon after the event, that the leader of his recent captors "est encore en pieds pour en faire le compte" (III: 12, 1193).

the statement (p. 164, fn. 16) that in Rousseau "on trouve un style qui est l'homme, mais non pas, comme chez Montaigne, un homme qui est un style"; but I would enjoy it more if I understood what precisely it means. I have similar qualms about many statements like the following one (p. 30): "C'est une phrase qui commence à l'extérieur, qui enveloppe d'abord une forme idéale avant de passer vers l'intérieur où elle n'enveloppe pas, où elle ne cache pas, mais où elle révèle les contours vivants de l'essence de Montaigne." With other students of Montaigne's style such as Auerbach, Croll, Sayce, and Buffum (whose *Studies in the Baroque from Montaigne to Rotrou* must have appeared, unfortunately, too late for Dr. Gray to see), the reader may at times disagree, but he knows where he stands.

Despite these weaknesses,³ Dr. Gray's book abounds in valuable observations and insights. Among those that I particularly liked are the following: the treatment of Montaigne's pleasure in writing (pp. 16, 18), of the energy of his style (26), the relation of his stylistic to his substantive evolution (14-32); his use of participles (52-55), "active" adjectives (43, 50), and image-making verbs (57); his conjunctive rather than relative arrangement of clauses (66), the slipperiness and lack of solidity of his use of *et* (68); the relation of his style to that of conversation (69) and of his "embrouilleure" to the slowness of his tempo (77-80, 90); his undulating (not rectilinear) antitheses (87); his use of assonance and antithesis in general (122-25); his use of mythological allusions, and its infrequency (145); his "inner landscape" (166), his esthetics as seen in his images (174), his way of speaking of the *Essais* in physical terms (177), his quest of duration in the present where Proust sought it in the past (194-95); the "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" as an "*anti-essai*" (199) because of its externally imposed order; the change in Montaigne's book from notebook to journal to "*essai*" (202), the opposition between memory and Montaigne's portrayal of "le passage" (203), the rejection of any non-organic order by Ronsard as well as Montaigne (210), key images in certain chapters (210-24), the effect of Books I-II on Montaigne's style in Book III (224), his sense of opposites as being almost equally true (238), and—an area in which I would have welcomed a fuller treatment by Dr. Gray—Montaigne's use of dialogue of various kinds (241-44).

These are only some of the illuminating discussions to be found in *Le Style de Montaigne*. It is a book to be used with some caution; but when so used it has much to offer. (DONALD M. FRAME, Columbia University)

Corneille. Par Georges Couton. (Connaissance des lettres, no. 52). Paris: Hatier, 1958. Pp. 224. Students and teachers of French literature, both here and abroad, always welcome the appearance of new volumes in the series "Connaissance des lettres." They are invariably authoritative, sometimes brilliant studies of the life and works of important French authors, concisely presented and based on the best findings of modern scholarship. Some of them take the form of an "état présent" and offer a strong stimulus for new research.

3. I have noted typographical errors on pp. 47, 83, 136, 146, 219, 225 n., 230, 234, 256-57; an apparent omission on p. 119; and an incomplete quotation on p. 73. My copy of the book is blank on pp. 130-31, 134-35, 138-39, and 142-43.

This volume is no exception. Professor Couton has already distinguished himself as a specialist in the theater of Corneille. His earlier studies—*La Vieillesse de Corneille*, 1949; *Corneille et la Fronde*, 1951; *Réalisme de Corneille*, 1953—have demonstrated his wise and careful scholarship. They have also identified him with an approach to literary history which is most delicate and perilous: the search for parallels between an author's life and his works, between a literary plot and some contemporary "fait divers," between a fictitious character and some historical figure. For centuries readers have been tantalized by possible allusions and secret meanings in works of literature, and in recent years some serious scholars have pursued this quest, not always with happy results—I have in mind some ill-founded interpretations of plays by Molière and Racine. But Professor Couton does not try to see the tragedies of Corneille as *pièces à clef*. Rather, he concentrates on broader issues, the social and political problems of seventeenth-century France, and reveals Corneille as a writer much concerned with the world he lived in.

Methodically and succinctly this book offers information on a wide range of subjects: Corneille's personal life, his literary career, his religious verse, his rivalry with Racine, his posthumous reputation, and of course his great galaxy of comedies and tragedies. Profiting from the research of Nadal and Bénichou, the author discusses the ethical and emotional codes of characters in *Le Cid*, and also the play's reflections of a feudalistic system which royal authority was attempting to bring under control. *Horace* is presented, extremely well, as a tragedy intimately linked with the social background in France: a country at war, a totalitarian regime under Richelieu, and a morality dominated by martial law. Similarly, the spiritual climate of the Counter Reformation is described, as it must be, so that one may understand the origins of *Polyeucte*. Corneille never ceased to meditate on the problems of his age. The tragedies which he wrote during the Fronde, or during the regency, or during the early years of Louis XIV's reign, all contain echoes of the military, political, and diplomatic situations which France confronted. Corneille stands out as the only writer of his century who can be called a national poet.

At the end of his book Professor Couton provides a brief but suggestive bibliography of some of the best editions and studies devoted to Corneille. (This could have been enriched by the inclusion of more works by non-French scholars—I find only two American names, Lancaster and Riddle, and no one from England or Germany.) Another useful feature, notably in the final pages (206-16), is the multitude of proposals for further research. Among the important gaps to be filled, Professor Couton mentions: editions of individual plays based on the original text; investigation of Corneille's religious verse, of which he wrote thousands of lines; detailed analysis of his dramatic style, which varies greatly from genre to genre and has many different levels of diction within a single play; and his position and influence in the history of the French theater, an influence still prevalent in the twentieth century. Corneille in all his complexity comes to life in this study. I know of no better place for readers of French literature to renew their acquaintance with the great writer who is so often and so wrongly considered a venerable, rather dull monument of ages past. (PHILIP A. WADSWORTH, *University of Illinois*)

Pascal écrivain: Etude sur les variantes de ses écrits. Par Jean-Jacques Demorest. Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1957. Pp. 153. This is a close examination of the original texts of the *Lettres provinciales*, the *écrits polémiques* and the *Pensées*. After first discussing the manner in which Pascal in general worked, Mr. Demorest passes to the problem of determining on the one hand precisely who was responsible for many suppressions and variants, Pascal himself or Port-Royal, and on the other what were the motives for such alterations. In the case of the *Pensées* the Copie 9.203 made by the Comité de Port-Royal generally retains passages suppressed in the Recueil Original although few of these appear in the editions of Port-Royal. By comparing the indications on the Copie with those of the original, Mr. Demorest is able to arrive at some convincing conclusions with suitable reservations: in many cases absolute certainty is out of the question. A selection of variants is then examined from the point of view of style as well as of sense, in an attempt to explain their need and their significance. This is done first in a chapter on the *Provinciales* and the polemical works. Since we do not possess the original manuscripts of these, the confrontation of texts is based on the various editions published during Pascal's lifetime. In the case of the *Provinciales* the great bulk of the corrections are syntactical and stylistic, whoever may have been responsible (and Mr. Demorest quite understandably wants to think it was Pascal and not Port-Royal), although many affect the argument. Here apparently, some were made to attenuate the argument, some to reinforce it; the proportion of these is about the same. At any rate, says Mr. Demorest, "la tendance générale des variantes vise constamment à établir un texte plus solide et explicite au moyen d'une langue plus précise et analytique. C'est dire que la volonté d'un art 'classique' inspire la correction des *Provinciales*" (p. 83).

The task of examining the *Pensées* is of course much more complicated since here it is possible to work from the manuscript: where the categories of variants had been four or five they are now double that number and the problem of classifying the correction becomes correspondingly more difficult. But Mr. Demorest winds his way through the maze observing punctuation, spelling, grammar, vocabulary (with special attention to *chercher* and *recherche*, key words for Pascal), sorting out the concrete and the abstract, irony, personification and the use of image. He also pays attention to the movement of the sentence, to the relation between sound and sense (sense generally is in control, but not always), and to questions of symmetry and rhythm. There are as well variants in ideas, but these are relatively few; it is interesting to note that though Pascal toned down a number of initially ardent remarks, he also made some stronger; and if these latter are fewer they are more important, so that a balance is kept. In the case of outright suppressions the motives seem to have been: avoidance of repetition, considerations of manner or tone, the rejection of hypotheses, or the desire to eliminate transitions and come to the point brusquely, with the effect of shock. All of this, Mr. Demorest recognizes, is largely a matter of conjecture. The suppression of reference phrases, superfluous once the thought was elaborated, needs no explanation.

The impression derived from examining the Recueil Original, says Mr. De-

morest, is one of inexhaustible will and patience on Pascal's part. He was not a facile writer; and if he frequently began a *pensée* (or what we now call a *pensée*, thanks to Port-Royal) with a happy phrase, the development of the thought was not without many hesitations and much groping. This much could be learned of course from the Tourneur *édition paléographique*. It was in part the result, thinks Mr. Demorest, of Pascal's will to dominate his natural polemic urge in favor of the task at hand: that of persuading the freethinker as *honnêtement* as possible.

A final chapter compares two styles to be found in Pascal's writings: the analytical, characteristic especially of the *Provinciales*, and the dense, more characteristic of the *Pensées*. The shift in style Mr. Demorest attributes not only to a desire to write more and more clearly and compactly, but also to an association with Biblical style and more particularly Jesus' style, which we know Pascal admired. Mr. Demorest asks, rhetorically, "Quel écrivain a jamais cherché les règles de son art à pareille école?" (p. 133). The answer is Guez de Balzac (*Œuvres*, ed. 1665, II, 26), Méré (*Œuvres*, ed. Boudhors, II, 28), Fénelon (*Œuvres*, Paris, J. A. Lebel, p. 94), and so, probably, others.

However that may be, Pascal is seen again as moving toward a "classic" formula. Mr. Demorest quite rightly thinks the problem of how Pascal should be labeled (classic, pre-classic, etc.) a false one. In connection with this he considers the degree of the popular success of the *Pensées*. It was not overwhelming, but some respectable people held Pascal in high esteem. Mr. Demorest mentions the opinions of Mlle de Scudéry, Mme de Sévigné, Bussy-Rabutin, Perrault and La Bruyère. He could have added Boileau, if we are to believe Corbinelli, who in 1690 wrote to both Bussy and Mme de Sévigné about an evening at Lamoignon's where it was decided that Pascal was the one modern who could be set off against the ancients, and where Boileau violently defended Pascal against a Jesuit. By this time the *Pensées* had gone through seventeen reprintings, but still one feels Boileau was thinking mostly of the *Provinciales*. Bossuet's favorable opinion was certainly based on these; but Mme de La Fayette seems definitely to have admired the *Pensées*. Yet it remains true that we have not much clear record of enthusiasm for the *Pensées* on the part of people important to us now.¹ Mr. Demorest suggests that for the seventeenth century a book of "notes discontinues" must have been a "fait exceptionnel." La Rochefoucauld's *Réflexions ou Sentences et Maximes morales* had appeared in 1665, deliberately less organized than the *Pensées* of 1670: the Comité de Port-Royal knew they could bring out the work as they did.

There are several appendices having to do with: the possibility of Pascal's having left notes envisaging an eventual edition of the Apology; the relation of Filleau de la Chaise to the publication of the *Pensées*; the "pensées retranchées"; the high degree of abstraction found in some *pensées* present in the copies but not in the Recueil Original; some suggested readings of certain *pensées*: where Tourneur and Lafuma disagree Mr. Demorest agrees with Tourneur; where they agree he suggests a different reading.

1. Most of these opinions have been collected by Marcel Hervier and presented in his *Les Écrivains français jugés par leurs contemporains*, Paris: Mellottée, 2nd ed. n.d.

This book would be more enjoyable if the discussion were not blurred by its polemic tone. With many exclamation points and a rather heavy sarcasm, Mr. Demorest seems to be fighting off some never clearly defined adversary. (E. B. O. BORGERHOFF, *Princeton University*)

The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791. By David T. Pottinger. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. 356. This comprehensive history of French publishing and bookselling is the work of an experienced American bookman who has been associated for many years with the Harvard University Press. The author's background is singularly appropriate to the subject of his choice, since it was under university auspices that the entire French book trade was conceived, reared and controlled. Every person engaged in one of the several crafts and trades necessary for the production and distribution of books in France was originally a member of the Sorbonne and responsible to its Rector and certain of its officers. The gradual shifting of this authority from the university to the crown, from a medieval guild system to a highly complex organization controlled by the government, is the main story told in this book.

This story is a highly significant one, all the more important since Mr. Pottinger's book is probably the first genuine attempt to assemble a vast amount of data and single studies into one organized account, and certainly the first presented in English. As such it is of obvious value to the specialized student of book trade history in any country and period. On the next broader level, the student of French literature will undoubtedly find this a fascinating book. Here is the record of a whole world of social, economic and legislative forces and pressures which affected the author, printer, and publisher in many decisive ways little observed before now. Lastly, the book has even broader significance; it seems to me, for the general student of history, government and economics. The intricacies of the legislative control bodies and their competing and overlapping spheres of responsibility, the amazing thoroughness with which each and every phase of the book trade was controlled—this pattern will be new and surprising to many readers. In a world where the conflict between free society and totalitarian government is the paramount issue, such a study of historic precedence must not be overlooked.

In most important aspects, this book achieves what the author intended—with some exceptions and limitations.

My own preference would have been for a somewhat more condensed account, with even more documentation and case histories relegated to appendix or footnotes than has already been provided by the author. In that case there might have been some space left for a somewhat more complete and systematic explanation of what happened at the beginning and at the end of the Ancien Régime.

The late medieval manuscript trade at Paris had the most profound influence on the invention of printing in Mainz and on the publishing progress of its first printer Johannes Gutenberg and his junior partner and first publisher, Peter Schoeffer. At the other end, a brief indication of what the French Revolution did to the book trade would undoubtedly have made a most enlighten-

ing addition, one that might have underlined certain basic characteristics of the Ancien Régime in a helpful manner.

Statistical data, especially in the chapter on the author, seem to me to have been included without as much interpretation as might have been desirable. In some cases, such data could have been omitted or relegated to the appendix.

The chapter on book illustration is competent in the portions describing the trade organization and control of the various graphic artists and craftsmen, but it has some errors and omissions, which also affect other portions of this book.

The index, unfortunately, does not include any names of persons, but is instead a sort of subject-matter index which, however, does not seem complete everywhere.

The structure of the book is simple and organic, facilitating access to the vast body of information contained. Ample footnotes and careful references to innumerable previous studies, mostly in French, lead back to first hand documentation.

The main parts of the work do not primarily represent period divisions, but (with one exception) are each devoted to a group of men: authors, masters, workmen, and members of the auxiliary trades (paper makers, illustrators, binders). Thus it is the life of the individual, his responsibilities, duties, privileges and rewards which occupy the center of the stage in this valuable book. (HELLMUT LEHMAN-HAUPT, *New York City*)

Les Lettres de la marquise du Châtelet: publiées par Theodore Besterman. Genève: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1958. 2 vols. Pp. 389, 337. The Marquise du Châtelet was, as Sainte-Beuve once remarked, no ordinary woman. The fact is strikingly evident in the two-volume collection of her correspondence recently published by the scholarly director of the Institut et Musée Voltaire. Those interested in eighteenth-century France will feel considerably indebted to Mr. Besterman for having in this, the fifth and by far most complete edition of Mme du Châtelet's correspondence, 486 of her letters covering the period from December 1733 to shortly before her pathetic death late in the summer of 1749.

The letters, many of which are here critically presented for the first time, are addressed to 38 recipients including Maupertuis, Frederick the Great, D'Argental, Cideville, Johann Bernoulli, as well as the irresistible Duc de Richelieu, the rascally Thieriot and, to be sure, that *homme fatal*, Jean François, Marquis de Saint-Lambert. Moreover, among the footnotes are to be found numerous letters which Mme du Châtelet herself received. All these, together with the editor's excellent Introduction in the form of "Notes préliminaires," furnish vital information on those years which have often been designated as the Cirey Period of Voltaire's life and that of his Lady Newton. They were, as Professor Ira O. Wade has pointed out in his *Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet*—a study which should be read, along with Voltaire's own letters, in conjunction with the present collected correspondence—years of "sudden enthusiasm, feverish activity, much confusion, and many external influences." For "la belle Emilie," at least, they were also years filled with acute anxiety as she was caught up in

the currents and cross-currents of physics, metaphysics, economics, law, society, duty and love. Her superior intelligence was quite matched by her sensibility and, in her own words, she derived a certain consolation "de confier au papier les peines, les inquiétudes, les agitations, et les transports de mon cœur" (II, 261).

She was not, however, a great letter writer, nor did she have any particular desire to be, candidly admitting on one occasion: "On n'écrit point des lettres avec assez de soin pour qu'elles soient dignes du public" (II, 71). Still, they are remarkably revealing as to the lady and her times. She may have written Cideville with charming frankness and becoming modesty, "Dieu m'a refusé toute espèce de génie, et j'emploie mon temps à démêler les vérités que les autres ont découvertes" (I, 346). She was, nevertheless, a woman capable of both deep tenderness and biting wit. Furthermore, she could argue with her correspondent: "Or cela n'est-il pas une preuve de ce que je vous disais ici qu'il me paraissait impossible qu'un corps sphérique, ou cylindrique ou & cc. tournant sur son centre sans déranger quelque partie de matière, et que par conséquent dans le plein absolu le mouvement de rotation me paraissait impossible, car si les parties d'un tout quelconque qui tourne sur son axe n'étaient pas retenues ensemble par une force quelconque chacun s'échapperait par la tangente?" (I, 311).

For a woman practiced in such reasoning, Francesco Algarotti's *Il Neutonismo* offered little intellectual challenge. If, with infinite tact, she could write the author, "Je ne puis me plaindre que vous alliez recevoir à Paris les applaudissements que votre livre mérite" (I, 250), we are not surprised to read in the following letter, this one addressed to Maupertuis: "M. Algarotti est [...] peut-être à présent à Paris. Son livre est frivole, c'est un singe de Fontenelle qui a des grâces" (I, 255).

In her *Life of Voltaire* S. G. Tallentyre wrote: "The eighteenth century which failed so dismally in all other domestic relationships, perfectly understood the art of friendship." What applies to the century as a whole, is equally appropriate for Mme du Châtelet, and nowhere in her life does it seem more applicable than during the sixteen-odd years of close association with Voltaire. For the most part, her husband responded to the role of an estimable, usually absent acquaintance, her children received only passing attention, her varied liaisons often brought far more anguish than happiness; but her friendships usually remained strong and steadfast. With the recent publication of the *Lettres d'amour de Voltaire à sa nièce* we now know why it was he, and not Mme du Châtelet, who wished to substitute the bonds of friendship for those of love. In consequence, the following statement in her posthumous *Réflexions sur le bonheur* is no longer open to question: "La certitude de l'impossibilité du retour de son goût et de sa passion [...] a amené insensiblement mon cœur au sentiment paisible de l'amitié, et ce sentiment, joint à la passion de l'étude, me rendait assez heureuse." But no matter how strong her passions were, she was able to see with remarkable lucidity the qualities and weaknesses of the loved one. In September of 1741, at a time when friendship was slowly replacing love, Mme du Châtelet wrote what is conceivably the most understand-

ing character portrayal of Voltaire ever concentrated in a single sentence: "Il est vif, et doux, son caractère impétueux veut être ménagé, mais avec de la douceur, de l'amitié, et de la raison, on en obtient tout" (II, 72).

It is probably safe to assume the general reader will be most compellingly drawn to the second half of Volume II. The letters there found are almost exclusively devoted to the unfolding love, charged with foreboding, of Mme du Châtelet in her early forties for a man some ten years younger. Saint-Lambert, witty, charming, gallant, had succeeded in firing an unexpected passion in this unusual woman who had thought herself at last safely beyond the reach of love's commands. The conquest, which brought disaster to the Marquise, was Saint-Lambert's first dazzling step in eighteenth-century society. His career was launched. But as these letters alone show, the future *encyclopédiste* was in every way inferior to the woman who for almost exactly two hundred years has been at peace under a black marble slab in the Church of Saint-Jacques at Lunéville.

The present edition of Mme du Châtelet's correspondence should, at least in some measure, have appeal to a wide variety of tastes whether historical, scientific, sociological, literary or psychological. And surely any university library worthy of the name should not be without it. (OTIS FELLOWS, Columbia University)

Voltaire's "Candide": Analysis of a Classic. By William F. Bottiglia. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VII.) Genève: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1959. Pp. 280. This detailed analysis of *Candide* as a miniature masterpiece is patently addressed to the hundreds of teachers of French or comparative literature and the humanities who are called upon to expatiate upon the meaning, the structure, and the style of this widely read classic. It is evident that only the labors of many years could have given the author such a thorough command of his subject. Primary sources include the critical text of the Morize edition and the voluminous correspondence published by Mr. Besterman. As secondary sources, all the better known French and American studies and evaluations have been utilized. Never before, in the two hundred years of its existence, has *Candide* been subjected to such a searching analysis.

Professor Bottiglia believes and proves that all approaches to a literary work of art are valid, the historical, the biographical, the structural, and the stylistic. The result is a highly successful blending of historical and literary methods. His definitions and evaluations are expressed in well-chosen, seriously considered words. His purpose, announced as it should be in the opening paragraph, is "to seek solutions to such problems as: the vital bonds between Voltaire the man and Voltaire the artist, the possibilities of his epoch and his possibilities within that epoch, his purpose in composing *Candide*, how he goes about achieving that purpose, how well he achieves it, and the literary dimension of the end-product." The author's conclusion is that "the tale has sufficient dimension to rank as a model expression of one basic civilized response to the challenge of life and so deserves to be called a miniature classic." The arguments presented will make it difficult indeed for anyone to deny Voltaire's consummate skill in the telling of tales.

A chapter on the basic relationship between Voltaire the man and Voltaire

the artist clears the ground effectively of the relatively few adverse criticisms of the art of *Candide*. Of special note is the account (p. 52) relayed to Baron von Gleichen by the painter, Huber, of Voltaire's own lesson in the art of storytelling. This brief, rarely reproduced, account is more revealing than most of the many pages that critics have since devoted to the subject. It makes the reader regret that Mr. Bottiglia did not offer us a reproduction of Huber's painting of Voltaire in the act of telling a story.

In a brief but adequate chapter the author discusses the genre of the philosophic tale. The following chapter places *Candide* in its social setting. A conscious influence of magic lantern, silhouette, and marionette shows is suggested and *Candide* is classified as "a dramatic monologue, written in a style that calculates the effect of oral spontaneity, that must be heard and visualized to be appreciated, that clearly suggests intonations and facial expressions (even, one may add, gestures). Its intimacy, its wit, its sophistication, along with its improvisational air, presuppose the imagined presence of attentive and responsive listeners, of a select audience of aristocrats and intellectuals assembled in an eighteenth-century drawing-room." Since the test of a critical evaluation is the degree to which it contributes to the appreciation of the literary subject, this development is indeed a major contribution. Mr. Bottiglia is quite right in understanding that a projected recording of *Candide* should be made by one person, an impersonator of Voltaire; for as author-narrator Voltaire dominates not only the theme with his unsurpassed vitality, but also the characters (ch. VI) whom, with surprising virtuosity, he impersonates to perfection (Cf. *Corr.*, Best. 7619). Seen in this perspective, many of the adverse criticisms leveled at *Candide* through the application of novelistic standards completely lose their validity.

The middle chapters of Mr. Bottiglia's book are devoted to themes—Eldorado and *Candide's* garden—and to structure. The first two have already appeared in the pages of *PMLA* and were well received. In the third, he is concerned with strictly structural analysis. What has always been considered as the main theme of *Candide*—the relation of human conduct to the mystery of physical and moral evil, or the reduction to the absurd of philosophical optimism—is accepted only incidentally (pp. 88, 91, 188). It is true that Morize in his critical edition and Havens in his admirable introduction to the school edition published by Holt have amply treated the relation of *Candide* to the Lisbon poem and to the philosophies of Pope and Leibnitz. Yet, in a book that could easily have been a complete study of the tale, it seems a pity that this central problem has received so little attention. Three references to Pope and five to Leibnitz, some of which are incidental, appear hardly adequate. It is possible, too, that this slighting of the main theme, as well as an over-anxiety to do away with "digressions" as such in order to tighten the structure, has led the author to suggest that after all *Candide* is not principally about the problem of evil, but about "social productivity of any kind on any level as a realization of the deistic ethic" (p. 178). That is indeed what Voltaire himself is about, especially after 1759, and it is the empirical answer that he gives to the problem of evil; but in spite of the Eldorado episode it would not appear to be

the primary concern of *Candide*. Such equation of author and work can lead to confusion. Luckily, the chapter on structure has a validity that does not depend upon this questionable shift of emphasis.

The concluding chapters on style and evaluation are admirable indeed. The author has profited from the work of his forebears, Miss McGhee, Miss Flowers, and George Havens, and carried his analysis of Voltaire's style beyond to wholly satisfactory completion. The discussions and illustrations of the movement of *Candide*—"a scherzo to be performed vivace"—the satiric manner of utterance, and the distinctive uses of irony, are especially revealing and convincing. The evaluation of the concluding chapter is a model of form and judgment.

On one aspect of Mr. Bottiglia's analysis, I must confess that I remain unconvinced. The meaning of the famous phrase, "Il faut cultiver notre jardin," is purposefully enigmatic and not as unmistakable, even on close analysis, as the author asserts (p. 91). It is, of course, a question of the relative emphasis given the literal and the symbolic interpretation of the phrase. The correspondence during the years from 1756 through 1759 is full of references to Voltaire's newly-found freedom and security during the horrors of the Seven Years' War and to his sense of joyful accomplishment in the actual cultivation of the gardens and fields of Les Délices, Tournay, and Ferney. It also reveals that never during those years does Voltaire confuse the two often recurring phrases, "cultiver notre jardin" and "travailler dans les vignes du Seigneur." It is evident that the former, the theme of retirement and repose, is often used as a cover for the latter, the fight to "renverser le colosse" or "écraser l'infâme," which we find so often in the letters to Frederick, D'Alembert, and Mme d'Epinau. Voltaire, in his campaign to reestablish peace in war-torn Europe, maintains secrecy and writes (17 January 1758) that if negotiations turn out badly, he will wash his hands of the whole matter "comme la bonne vieille qui disait, il est vrai que je les ai mis tous deux au lit, mais je ne me mêle de rien" (*Corr.*, Best. 6892). This is a clue to how Voltaire was "minding his own business" and to the distinction that he maintained between the two metaphors.

Moreover, during the year 1759, so disastrous for the French, Voltaire in four instances (*Corr.*, Best. 7617, 7887, 7888, 7915) seems to concur in the pessimism of the Turk and the Manichean Martin, who sees the evil principle everywhere at work. To be sure, this is a recurring mood rather than a life attitude. But in *Candide* the door is not, I think, shut so forcibly in the faces of the pessimists as Professor Bottiglia would have us believe. He graciously admits that such questions of relative emphasis and essential meaning can never be determined once and for all, otherwise *Candide* could not, like *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*, be classed as a masterpiece.

To return to our sheep—Mr. Bottiglia has written an admirable and most useful book, a model of literary analysis and evaluation, from which not only Voltaire scholars but all those interested in critical methods may profit. (NORMAN L. TORREY, *Columbia University*)

Denis Diderot, *Jacques the Fatalist and His Master*. Translated and with Introduction and Notes by J. Robert Loy. New York: New York University Press,

1959. Pp. xxviii+289. Perhaps it was written up yonder that Jacques should await for nearly two centuries his introduction to the English-speaking public. Fatalism aside, considering the very human history of critical neglect of Diderot's major novel, we owe a sizeable debt to J. Robert Loy for his persistent devotion to a book whose passionate defenders have been rare. For, with the exception of a privately printed translation dating from the late eighteenth century, the present version is the first in English.

The début of a major work from the pen of a major figure is a significant event; in the case of Professor Loy's *Jacques*, the significance increases on three counts. First, in establishing his text, he has examined new materials: two manuscript copies, one from the *Fonds Vandeul* and the other from the Leningrad collection. In these he has found authority for many alternate readings which appear in print for the first time. In this reviewer's opinion, the extant manuscripts dictate the conclusion that the standard edition of *Jacques* (1796) suffered revision, probably at the hands of Grimm. Mr. Loy, then, carries forward the work inaugurated in Yvon Belaval's edition of 1953, which listed selected variants from the Vandeul copy. Second, the translator has contributed an Introduction which presents in distilled form the conclusions reached in an earlier monograph (*Diderot's Determined Fatalist*, New York, 1950). Third, to the traditional notes he has added his own insights and some further explanation.

In dealing with the textual problem, Mr. Loy makes no pretence of thoroughness. By his own admission, he has evolved a "composite of three texts" (p. 271), accepting what seemed justified or what delighted his fancy. Thus the reader whose interest lies in Diderot's original intentions will do better to turn to the manuscripts themselves; still, the present translation may well serve to reveal the kinds of shift one may expect: "artfully" (p. 110) renders "subtilement," attested by FV and L in place of "subitement"; another change (p. 132) follows FV and L in reading "Mme de La Pommeraye, qui achevait de s'irriter, de s'endurcir et de perdre le marquis" in lieu of "de l'irriter, de l'endurcir et de le perdre." In one case we must register strong disagreement. In a note (pp. 287-88), Mr. Loy defends his rendering of "baiser" (p. 86) on the grounds that Vandeul replaced it with "coucher avec." But Vandeul, we know, is a dangerous informant. Everything indicates, to the contrary, that Diderot's son-in-law saw evil where there was none: the unlikely context, the meaningless gradation of the three accumulated elements and the strategic demands of the text, where much depends upon an ambiguous reaction to the verb's final appearance (p. 268).

The notes, based on a judicious selection of the most valuable comments from preceding editions, especially that of M. Belaval, contain several novelties. Long selections from Sterne are included, Diderot's errors and inconsistencies are found, resemblances to others of his works are cited. It is, of course, distressing to find that poor Piron, "qui ne fut rien," has become (p. 280) "a great enemy of the *philosophes*, ridiculed by Diderot in *Rameau's Nephew*." And elsewhere, Carlyle's remark about the indigo hue of *Jacques* suffers from a lack of context: Carlyle used "indigo" as a superlative of "blue" to refer to the shocking passages in the novel, not to imply tragic overtones (pp. xx-xxi).

The Introduction is succinct and should indeed help the reader become "a confederate of the author, without destroying his own sense of responsibility" (p. ix). Mr. Loy raises points which might well be developed at greater length. He decides that *Jacques* is, after all, a novel, and rejects the *anti-roman* classification as too "negative." But the term suggests positive values which may be defined by turning some of his own words into a statement of purpose: "to show what a novel could be, and, in many ways, to suggest that all that has been called the novel before should be discounted" (pp. ix-x). Mr. Loy feels, as he did in 1950, that *Jacques* has three themes: "the novel itself as a genre of pseudorealistic literature; the problem of fatalism [...]; and the feasibility of outlining ethical directions in a world of relative values" (p. x). But it would seem more fruitful to subsume all three under one heading, and to locate the theme of *Jacques*, especially in the domains of esthetics, metaphysics and ethics, somewhere along the line between Freedom and its opposite, Control.

Reading the first translation of a work is apt to be a chastening experience for those who have loved the original; no matter how careful our reading has been, a thoughtful translator turns up our own shortcomings. In the case of *Jacques*, the present reviewer was caught by Mr. Loy's acuity often enough to confirm his feeling that Diderot's style is not so transparent and simple as it seems at first. On the other hand, Mr. Loy's accuracy is not beyond reproach.¹ Many readings are excellent: particularly effective are the difficult areas in free indirect discourse. The solutions to the numerous puzzles posed by the self-conscious style are most often ingenious. But there is a serious tendency to ignore Diderot's stylistic tricks, even when they would survive perfectly in English. For example, Mr. Loy tends to replace Diderot's deliberate and effective repetitions with various synonyms in English, e.g., *démontrer* (pp. 5-6), *s'impatiente* and *jurer* (p. 72), *remarqué* (*remarquante*) (p. 86). And the translator's success with colloquialisms is only partial—living proof of Diderot's amazing virtuosity in dialogue. One serious error in judgment has wide results: Mr. Loy tries to follow Diderot's dizzying tense shifts. True, "the present tenses and their justification are in the original" (p. xii); but the device, permissible in French, has no effect in English other than to cause the reader, as Mr. Loy fears, "to call a plague on the head of the translator" (p. xii).

The production of the book is handsome. Protest must be filed, however, regarding the jacket illustration, with its picture of two horsemen, neither recognizable. In fact, we cannot determine which the artist intended to be Jacques,

1. The more important errors follow. There are false cognates: for *détail* (p. 9, 1.33; p. 238, 1.12), I prefer "report, or summary"; for *enragé de mourir* (p. 113, 1.22), "yearning, or aching to die"; for *distrain* (p. 243, 1.14), "absent-minded"; for *me suis battu* (p. 30, 1.20), "fought." *Autrement* can mean "excessively" (p. 116, 1.29; p. 187, 1.8). It is hard to imagine how the Marquis des Arcis can be "merchants" (p. 84, 1.8) when Diderot wrote *bourgeois*. *Se f----- de* does not mean "to make a fool of" (p. 179, 1.8). And Diderot's deceptively simple syntax leads Mr. Loy into traps which I would rectify as follows: "and to arrange for Jacques a sad encounter" (p. 40, 1.33); "strewing a vast tournament ground with splintered weapons" (p. 63, 1.21); "puts her hands on her hips" (p. 97, 1.11); "her solitude, her leaning" (p. 100, 1.23); "got your virginity . . . they got it . . . To miss one" (p. 185, 1.19-24); "not helping her with any of the work" (p. 201, 1.4); "he calls him a heretical Engastrimyth" (p. 208, 1.8).

which the Master. Where is our "grand homme sec, monté sur un cheval pie"? Where is his hat, "parapluie dans les mauvais temps, parasol dans les temps chauds, couvre-chef en tout temps..."? It is a pity indeed that so many new readers will first meet these travelers in such a misleading image.

"This volume is the end of a long mission" (p. xxiii). Thus comments Professor Loy as he ends his Introduction. And we can only praise the missionary spirit which has at last brought *Jacques le fataliste* into the English language. But the scope of Mr. Loy's work extends beyond mere translation, for this is significant scholarship. Other translations may some day appear; but none will matter so much as this one. (RICHARD T. ARNDT, *Columbia University*)

Intelligible Beauty in Aesthetic Thought; From Winckelmann to Victor Cousin. By Frederic Will. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958. Pp. 211. As the title indicates, this study is focused on the "intelligibility" of beauty; that is, on the concept that beauty is a divine attribute which confers a higher order of knowledge of ultimate Truth and Good on its beholder, and that it is pervaded with Ideas. Since this notion varies according to each esthetician, Mr. Will is concerned with examining the important similarities and divergences among expounders of intelligible beauty.

In loosely connected essays the author traces the development of ideal beauty back to Plato and Plotinus, but concentrates on the period from Winckelmann's *Gedanken* (1755) to the publication of Victor Cousin's *Du Vrai, du beau et du bien* (1833), and devotes his attention to some ten thinkers who wrote during that time. Before scrutinizing these theorists, however, Mr. Will stresses that his book is historical only in a special sense, and that he is not interested in the role of intermediaries between, say, Plato and the eighteenth century, or between Winckelmann and Cousin. Nor does he attempt to trace the sources of the concepts under analysis. This method permits the author to emphasize the significant interplay of ideas, but there is no doubt that some historical considerations would have enriched and illuminated many highly abstract points by providing them with a more concrete framework.

For the purpose of his discussion Mr. Will divides the theorists with whom he is dealing into two camps: the neoclassical, orthodox, dualistic expounders of ideal beauty (Reynolds, Quatremère de Quincy, Cousin, and Winckelmann), and those whose approach was organic and monistic (Blake, Hazlitt, Goethe, Kant, Herder, Schelling, and Hegel). The members of the first group establish a distinction between ideal and real beauty, although they do not necessarily agree on the ontological difference between these two orders. The monists, on the other hand, seek continuity between the real and the ideal, and draw away from neoclassical assumptions. But the two opposing camps share one common feature, according to Mr. Will: this is the firm belief that "man's higher cognitive faculties are deeply and appropriately engaged in aesthetic experience" (p. 16). It is therefore somewhat frustrating to have to wait until the conclusion of the book for the author's own definition and evaluation of a concept which is at the very core of his study. Furthermore, his argument for the continuing and intrinsic interest of the question he chose to treat is not very convincing. On the whole, however, thanks to Mr. Will's painstaking and sometimes orig-

inal comparisons, new light is cast on the manner in which important writers viewed the complex problem of whether esthetic experience gives knowledge. His subtle reasoning serves him best when he traces an influence (that of Plotinus, in particular), confronts two systems (Cousin and Coleridge; Schelling and Hegel), or clarifies a philosophical controversy (Blake and Reynolds; Herder and Kant). He seems most at ease with, and sympathetic to, German idealists, and less so with empirical, sensualistic and unsystematic critics. But then early nineteenth-century Germanic esthetics, as the author recognizes, shows the most profound concern for an idea-filled beauty.

Plato, in spite of his disparagement of artistic semblance, is here considered the founder of esthetic tradition and the first who posed the fundamental problems of imagination, beauty, and mimesis. Naturally, this is not an original viewpoint, but more fruitful is Mr. Will's analysis of Plotinus as an interpreter of Plato and as a predecessor of Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling. Showing a more positive awareness of the role of art than Plato, Plotinus never believed that it only constituted the imitation of a copy (i.e., something twice-removed from Truth), for he saw in beauty the seat of Goodness and Truth and a direct emanation of the divine Intellect. It soon becomes evident that Plotinus is a key figure in this study, whose main purpose is to illuminate post-Kantian spiritual monism and philosophical idealism.

Leaping from Plotinus to the eighteenth century, Mr. Will is particularly intent upon relating neo-Platonism to modern esthetics. But even though he provides us with many excellent insights into this tradition and ably sets forth different attitudes toward art and reality, he is unfortunately most preoccupied with system-builders who nostalgically reflected on Greek art and wrote about abstract categories of beauty, without ever participating in the realities of the artistic life of their own country and time. In this connection, it is interesting to note that while England and especially Germany are shown to have had distinguished spokesmen for the mystical school, France is rather poorly represented by Victor Cousin and Quatremère de Quincy, both uncreative and derivative critics who often confused ethics and esthetics in their long-winded, academic, and pompous speculations. It is even surprising that we should be informed only at the end of the chapter on Cousin and Coleridge, and this only in passing, that the latter was more original than the former. On the other hand, Mr. Will was well advised to focus his discussion on Coleridge's less known views on art and nature, rather than on his already famous theory of the imagination.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is devoted to the philosophical and psychological reasons for Blake's quarrel with Reynolds. Blake's romantic mysticism is effectively characterized, but Reynolds' complex esthetics is done some injustice. The first president of the Royal Academy was more than an official spokesman for an official art. While expounding traditional principles of the grand style, Reynolds also recognized the role of creative imagination and sensibility, the uniqueness of genius, the limitations of rules, and, in so doing, heralded, to a certain extent, nascent Romanticism.

The liveliest essay is the one on Winckelmann, for whom Mr. Will seems to have a special liking. Hence a sympathetic, full-length portrait, in which the

amiable traits and more pregnant ideas of the German art historian are highlighted. In Moses Mendelssohn, Mr. Will rightly sees an eclectic, transitional writer who foreshadowed major Romantic preoccupations (psychological naturalism, symbolism, the naive, lyricism, and sublimity). However, the assertion that "Mendelssohn's early concern with the sublime [...] derives from Longinus (not from Burke)" (p. 120) ignores the impact of Burke's treatise on the sublime and beautiful, and overlooks the fact that by 1758 Mendelssohn had enthusiastically summarized and reviewed this work for his compatriots.

In the chapter on Goethe, Mr. Will again centers his analysis on the influence of the Plotinian tradition. But in thus circumscribing Goethe's multifarious thought, he tends to lose sight of its broad humanism and empiricism, and of the fact that it was firmly rooted in experience and observation. In addition, the author is almost painfully conscious of the unsystematic nature of Goethe's esthetics, which he rather narrowly attributes to "his unarchitectonic mind" (p. 159).

More successful is his treatment of Herder's attack on Kant's third critique, in which he makes pertinent observations on each philosopher's attempt to solve the problem of intelligible or ideal beauty. Equally enlightening is the last chapter, devoted to Schelling and Hegel. Whereas Kant was skeptical about the relation of beauty and knowledge, and Herder's thought on the subject remained fragmentary, Schelling and Hegel believed that beauty is meaning: "Through our aesthetic discovery—either as artist or as spectator—of our oneness with nature in the principle of intelligibility which rules us both, we experience freedom and infinity" (p. 194). It should be clear that the German idealists shared a belief in immanent archetypes of beauty, and a concern for the ethical implications of art. For each one of them, a supreme Intelligence, ultimate Truth, transcendent Ideas, and absolute Beauty had an existence of their own, and could, to a certain degree, be apprehended by man.

But that Mr. Will is able to establish a basic similarity of content between Plotinus and Hegel does not, to my mind, "introduce an oblique argument in favor of the major tradition of philosophical idealism" (p. 207). As a "dix-huitiémiste," I beg to differ and prefer the "impure," pluralistic, empirical, and psychological approach that characterized the French and English thinkers of the Enlightenment to the search for a "pure" and absolute metaphysical idealism. Metaphysicians often have an unfortunate tendency of confusing art with philosophy and religion, of verbalizing, and of becoming so fascinated with generalized concepts that they too frequently neglect the significance of sense perception and experience, as well as the particular work of art, its genesis and creator.

Mr. Will's study makes a very creditable contribution to the field of esthetics and has the merit of treating clearly an abstract and complex subject. His style has a pleasing informal quality and in concentrating on carefully chosen writers he is able to show in detail their interrelations and reveal important aspects of their thought.¹ (GITA MAY, *Columbia University*)

1. A few minor points: a name-index would have been very welcome; on p. 62, quotation, read *m'apprit* for *m'apprit*; on p. 210, read *Mustoxidi* for *Moustoxidi*.

L'Invention et l'écriture dans "La Torpille" d'Honoré de Balzac. Par Jean Pommier. Genève: Droz, 1957. Pp. 248. Profonde analyse du génie créateur de Balzac, ce livre est appelé à renouveler l'étude du travail du style en général. Comparant les états successifs du début de *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (Pléiade, V, 654-704), J. Pommier suit les chemins de Balzac d'une variante à l'autre—ratures du manuscrit publié ici pour la première fois, corrections sur épreuves et dans les éditions successives. M. Pommier ne se contente pas de cataloguer les leçons, comme Mlle Leleu pour *Madame Bovary*, ou Mario Roques pour le *Père Goriot*: ses commentaires sur les corrections font surgir Balzac vivant; dans la psychologie du romancier, les exigences du sujet ou la structure de la *Comédie humaine*, il a su retrouver les raisons qui dictèrent chaque variante importante. Il montre comment Balzac concilie les "états" contradictoires de personnages dont l'histoire se développe, d'un roman à l'autre, à l'inverse de la chronologie; l'esprit de suite avec lequel Balzac revient sur un passage donne naissance à des "doubles" qui jalonnent ses créations simultanées. L'importance du travail sur épreuves est plus grande encore qu'on ne croyait. Avec un étonnant luxe de preuves, M. Pommier restitue le contexte de thèmes et d'influences qui donne tout son relief à l'originalité de Balzac (voir sur Sue et Balzac, p. 53; la fille de Jephté, p. 63; les rapprochements avec *Marion de Lorme*, la *Maison Nucingen*, les arts plastiques, le théâtre, source de mimiques; les modèles vivants, comme Juliette Drouet. Hélas! pas d'index). L'examen du deuxième temps de la création est pour M. Pommier l'occasion d'études de style bien séduisantes: rien qu'à relever suppressions et amendements, on voit se dessiner les mécanismes dont Balzac se sert pour imposer sa pensée. La même technique d'analyse, appliquée à la critique, explique un jugement de Sainte-Beuve dont l'inexactitude surprenait (p. 68). Les efforts du styliste sont si bien interprétés qu'on croirait M. Pommier dans la confidence de Balzac (voir II, iii-iv; IV, ii).

La finesse des analyses de détail a sa rançon: à suivre le texte d'une variante à l'autre, on perd parfois de vue ce qui était cohérent ou continu dans l'esprit de Balzac, mais s'est manifesté différemment selon les contextes. Même l'étude des aspects permanents du style est reprise à propos des épreuves, puis des éditions (par ex. pp. 163-65, 190-91, 198). En dépit de quelques synthèses (pp. 149-50, 234-35), on attend vainement des tableaux d'ensemble pour des faits importants, tels que le rôle de l'épithète. Catégoriser, sans doute, est dangereux, car on risque de négliger ce qui n'avait pas été prévu dans la classification de base, ou d'imposer à l'auteur des critères qui n'étaient pas toujours les siens (cf. Feugère sur les variantes de Ronsard). Des catégories purement stylistiques diminueraient le risque. Les classifications grammaticales (pp. 182 ss) séparent les différents aspects du même fait de style, par exemple la coordination et la subordination qui contribuent ensemble à créer un style lié (*et*, p. 211, devrait être étudié comme procédé "oratoire," son absence rattachée à la rareté de la rhétorique, p. 207, etc.). De même, un point de vue de logique extérieure (pp. 167 ss) aboutirait à condamner l'incohérence des métaphores de Balzac, alors que M. Pommier lui-même en démontre l'unité génétique et la logique interne. Il laisse des attitudes normatives esthétiques voiler certains faits de style. Balzac

avait ces attitudes et supprimait ce que rejetaient grammairiens et critiques contemporains, mais ces scrupules ne tenaient guère en face de ses tendances profondes: on le voit bien pour *été et venu* (p. 164); déplorons-le au nom de la norme, mais quel signe révélateur! Balzac a tant "refoulé" ce solécisme qu'il éclate là où il choque le plus, dans un groupe stéréotypé; les "règles" ne résistent pas à ce torrent; elles ne sauraient non plus servir à le décrire et à l'évaluer. Prenez le mot juste et le cliché; l'esthétique les sépare; si on s'en tient à cette dichotomie, le goût, les dons d'écrivain de Balzac semblent confirmer la sévérité traditionnelle de ses critiques: il se débarrasse de certains clichés (p. 170), ailleurs en ajoute (p. 204), et quand il cherche le mot juste (pp. 164 ss), il trouve souvent le cliché. Y a-t-il erreur sur la justesse des mots? M. Pommier les a soumis à plusieurs juges, mais le lecteur moyen qu'ensemble ils composent n'est pas contemporain de Balzac. Ceci toutefois ne saurait expliquer tous les cas douteux. Il serait plus simple de voir dans le cliché et le mot juste deux faces du même phénomène stylistique, dont la valeur ne dépend que du contexte. D'une part, Balzac se sert quelquefois du cliché pour "typifier" un personnage par sa manière de parler—le cliché étant alors le mot juste. On pourrait sans doute dessiner les portraits des protagonistes en décrivant leur parole. Tâche impossible pour les comparses (p. 69; et pourtant Blondet, p. 200), mais qui ferait ressortir certaines préférences de Balzac en répartissant les personnages en deux groupes, ceux qui parlent selon leur nature (on verrait, je crois, du même côté, Vautrin, Birotteau, Grandet, Gaudissart) et ceux dont le parler est neutre, que Balzac voit de l'intérieur (tels que Lucien, Raphaël, peut-être même Rastignac). D'autre part, le mot juste est souvent caché parce qu'au lieu d'en user pour une concision expressive, Balzac concentre en une phrase la complexité d'une réalité (ex. pp. 166-67; les génitifs, p. 203; les cas où il s'acharne, p. 52, n. 4, où il *circonstance*): d'où des surcharges inextricables pour les tenants de la clarté française; mais pour qui ne s'en tient pas à ce préjugé esthétique, quelle force, quelle *justesse*! L'étude du style, et pas seulement de Balzac, a tout à gagner à se débarrasser des apriorismes traditionnels du *goût* et de la *correction*, quitte à les recréer après analyse en fonction de chaque cas particulier. M. Pommier loue et blâme en vertu de ces axiomes, mais sa connaissance de Balzac pallie leur subjectivité (ou leur manque de pertinence). L'enthousiasme de M. Pommier pour les réussites de Balzac me fait d'ailleurs regretter qu'il n'ait pas poussé plus loin la critique des beautés (voir les morceaux qu'il cite en conclusion).

On nous montre comment des survivances partielles du premier jet créent des anormalités qui, loin d'être des maladresses, sont autant de facteurs expressifs (pp. 76, 87-88, 90, etc.). On devrait aller plus loin: ce qui n'a pas bougé autour des variantes, c'est aussi le premier jet; voici donc tout un champ nouveau ouvert à nos études: qu'est-ce qui satisfait assez un auteur pour n'être pas récrit? qu'est-ce qui définit, en style, le "bonheur" spontané (par ex., si une répétition est supprimée, pourquoi cet élément-ci est-il conservé plutôt que celui-là?) Une étude de variantes doit s'étendre à ce qui n'a pas varié.

Quelques discussions. P. 7: le titre nous est rapidement expliqué, mais non les raisons d'un choix qui nous paraît si étrange; c'est que nous pensons na-

turellement à la torpille machine de guerre; on ne peut s'imaginer le rôle que joue la torpille raie électrique dans les métaphores d'avant la guerre de Sécession: le prestige de ce mystère naturel est un thème littéraire ou moral (voir Claudien, xlv, ou Montaigne II, xii, qui suit Plutarque—et, probablement, Cicéron); mais le thème n'est vraiment d'actualité qu'avec l'éveil de la curiosité pour le magnétisme: témoin le lyrisme des commentaires sur Pline (éd. Le-maire, 1829, vol. XIII, pp. 629-38); les lexicographes du XIX^e siècle, qui voient dans l'engourdissement que provoque la torpille le symbole de la paresse (comme Voltaire y voyait celui des ennuyeux); Hugo, qui appelle les préjugés qui "paralisaient" Racine la "torpille classique" (*Préf. Cromwell*, éd. Souriau, p. 247). Balzac en est obsédé; il y a recours pour peindre les effets psychologiques les plus forts: la stupeur de Gobseck devant l'honnête César (*Pléiade*, V, 589), la puissance surnaturelle de Scraphita (X, 491), le vertige de l'abîme (X, 466; en ce passage *vertige et tigre* sont liés: la comparaison *vertige-lionne* discutée p. 227 serait-elle une résurgence de l'imagerie subconsciente de Balzac?). P. 66: au rôle d'un type ethnique dans l'évocation de plaisirs ancillaires s'appliquent les *Réflexions* de Sartre (pp. 61-62). P. 141: *les mieux colorées et les plus colorantes* est un cas particulier d'un type de développement "automatique," par figure étymologique comme ici, par paires de contraires (voir la description de la foule, *Pléiade*, V, 655, citée p. 207) ou séries répétées (V, 553). P. 184: Balzac corrige (*ses*) *les jambes* parce que le possessif *ses genoux* se rapportait à Esther. P. 185: une correction est expliquée par le souci d'éviter une cacophonie; à voir celles que Balzac garde ou ajoute (pp. 184, 203, 213; mais 194, 212, 223), je doute s'il y était sensible, ou même si elles existent vraiment: beaucoup sont des cacophonies "pour l'œil" (par ex. pp. 206, 210), pour une lecture mot à mot, non pour une lecture normale qui respecte les pauses.¹

Ces points de désaccord, la multiple richesse du livre les rend inévitables. Mais la méthode adoptée va au cœur de l'œuvre. Ce livre est un modèle d'érudition et plus encore un témoignage, parfois émouvant, de communion avec une œuvre d'art, une re-création comme Balzac l'eût souhaitée. (MICHAEL RIFFATERRE, *Columbia University*)

Motif Symbolism in the Disciples of Mallarmé. By John Andrew Frey. (The Catholic University of America, Publications of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, 55). Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1957. Pp. xix+158. This study of Mallarmé's disciples has been written by a disciple of Svend Johansen, the author of *Le Symbolisme* (1945). From him Mr. Frey has borrowed the term "motif symbolism" to designate the poetic function "by which two images of equal value enjoy an interior correspondence, and are so joined as to make the tonality possible only because of their interpenetration and unity." Both scholars agree that "motif symbolism," based as it is on an "analogical rather than a conceptual vision of life," the rejection of discursive elements, and the striving for a "concentrated hermetic structure," reaches its supreme expression in Mallarmé.

1. Lire p. 51, 1.7, *identité*; p. 141, 1.24, *préposition* au lieu d'*adverbe*; p. 189, n.1: Boiste donne *substanter* en 1835.

Mr. Frey decided, nevertheless, that it would be worth while to carry on from Johansen and study "hundreds of poems" by the minor Symbolists in the hope of finding comparable examples. Obviously none could compare with Mallarmé—this conclusion was inevitable from the start—but a sufficient number of hermetic poems were discovered to justify the search. The core of Mr. Frey's dissertation is devoted to an analysis, in terms of "motif symbolism," of a score of these works, short poems for the most part by Raynaud, Régnier, Rodenbach, Ghil, Kahn, Fontainas, Louÿs and Royère. Mr. Frey has translated each one into English, untangled the web of imagery, and evaluated the poem as a more or less intricate whole. Preliminary chapters treat a greater number of poets under the titles: "Remainders of Discursive and Descriptive Verse" and "Progress in the Struggle for Unified Symbolism." The conclusion is largely, and quite appropriately, a eulogy of Mallarmé, whom one is ready to reread with fresh zeal.

Mr. Frey's study is in part historical insofar as it investigates Mallarmé's influence and in part stylistic insofar as it attempts to illustrate the nature of "motif symbolism." In neither case is it entirely satisfactory. A valid search for influences would have necessitated more careful attention to chronology and to any documentation which might substantiate the thesis that the style of the minor poets was indeed shaped by that of the master. Moreover, Mr. Frey, while stressing an "evolution" or "progress" toward the "modern form" of the poem, ignores dates of composition for the most part, with the result that the actual history of "motif symbolism" remains rather hazy.

The work has more validity as an analysis of a particular aspect of Symbolist style, and many of the elucidations of individual poems are unusually perceptive. By tending to overstate the case for "motif symbolism," however, Mr. Frey, in spite of his guarded language, conveys the impression that he considers it the only legitimate form of modern poetry. Others with more perspective have been careful to stress that "pure poetry" does not of necessity mean "better" poetry, and there are certainly many twentieth-century poets who would fail Mr. Frey's "motif symbolism" test but who remain nonetheless major poets. (Claudel, for example, is absent from this study.)

Unfortunately the reader's confidence in Mr. Frey is occasionally shaken by errors in translation; gallicisms ("The bouffon regarding his proper image" apparently means "The jester looking at his own image"); rare English words such as "evocate," "precurse"; misspellings in French ("feuilleter," "le parc sentimentale," "cette accablant problème"); misspellings in English ("bannish," "extoll," "ressemble"); colloquialisms such as "atmosphere type poem" and "état d'âme type poem"; and various solecisms. It is too bad that the very careful research which undoubtedly went into the preparation of this dissertation could not have been matched by equal care in its presentation. (L. C. BREUNIG, *Barnard College*)

La Crise de l'humanisme: Le Conflit de l'individu et de la société dans la littérature française moderne. Tome I, 1890-1914. Par Micheline Tison-Braun. Paris: Nizet, 1958. Pp. 518. In this detailed and most perceptive study, Mme Braun sees the writers of the period in question as anticipating the highly irrational developments of the social instinct which were later to upset Europe.

Her originality lies neither in her awareness that the individualists of the period tended to attack society itself rather than specific social forms, nor in the realization that the reaction to this tendency produced a "traditionalism" as irrational as it was dangerous to progress and the rights of man. It lies rather in the depth of the understanding which she brings to her consideration of this conflict, as it is made apparent in the literary works of the time.

Although the period with which this volume deals is something of a dark age in the history of letters, falling as it does between two eras of surpassing brilliance, Mme Braun is fascinated by it and makes it fascinating. It will be impossible for readers of her book to suppose again, if they ever have, that they can skip back to 1885 to find the sources of the great flowering of French letters which began in 1913-14. Indeed, one might mildly complain that the period becomes so interesting in itself that Mme Braun rather forgets to remind us that its writers are the precursors of whom she speaks in her conclusion.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first reviews the struggle between individualism and traditionalism, especially in the nineteenth century, and considers it in some detail in the early Third Republic. It is here that Mme Braun discusses, among others, Gobineau and Taine, the anarchists and Jarry and Renan. The second part, "Le Mouvement des 'Retours,'" focuses on Bourget, Barrès, Claudel, and the "Affair." It concludes with Maurras and includes notable studies of works of fiction, among them *Le Disciple* and *Les Déracinés*. Part III presents the opposing side: the crystallizing of the Left, the later Zola, Anatole France, the early Gide. The final part, beginning with Bergson, whose conceptions are of considerable use to Mme Braun throughout the volume, represents something of a synthesis. It sees Péguy and Romain Rolland, as well as Bergson and Gide, as suggesting ways out of the impasse which had come to involve "l'absurde opposition de la France de Jeanne d'Arc et de la France des Droits de l'Homme."

Tending to be determinist in her recognition that individualism and traditionalism are matters of sensibility rather than of thought, Mme Braun nonetheless agrees with Malraux that some reason can be gradually introduced into the operations of destiny. She sees progress as being possible only in an "open" system, that paradox in itself, but she recognizes at the same time that "une morale qui aspire à l'indéterminé, à la création, et qui s'édifie par opposition aux commandements à priori est nécessairement imprécise [...]." It is perhaps out of this that much of the interest of her next volume will come.

Mme Braun shows in this study, if anyone ever has, that perspective is a matter of spirit, as well as of distance in time from the object contemplated. Aware that all of the figures with whom she deals are at once individuals and related to each other by their time, their social and moral preoccupations, and a striking number of the notions upon which they work their individual variations, she succeeds in making remarkably comprehensible the genesis of their varied views. There are no forces of pure light or pure darkness here, nor any supposition that there is an easy way out. Although repetition becomes something of a problem in the final chapters, and despite a striking number of typographical errors, this book would seem to be required reading for those con-

cerned with French literature in the twentieth century. (B. M-P. LEEFMANS, Columbia University)

La Jeunesse d'André Gide. Par Jean Delay. Paris: Gallimard, 1956-57. 2 vols. Pp. 597, 675. Rarely, if ever, has a biographer enjoyed a more challenging subject than André Gide. During a literary career of sixty years, while enriching almost every genre, he strove constantly—in journals and memoirs and confessions—to understand and explain himself. Yet he never fully succeeded, and the mystery of *le cas Gide* continued beyond his death and the publication of his posthumous works.

Now Dr. Jean Delay, Professor of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, member of the Académie de Médecine and of the British Royal Society of Medicine, has done more than anyone to dispel that mystery. As an internationally famous psychiatrist with ten major studies to his credit on mental illness and psychophysiology, he recognizes that André Gide's youth "contient toutes les situations et tous les personnages du drame dont son œuvre sera le dénouement" (I,30) and that Gide "entendait rester fixé à cet âge de la vie où tous les avenir paraissent encore possibles, où l'être indéfini se sent illimité et jouit d'une disponibilité si peu compromise qu'elle donne l'illusion de la liberté" (II,675).

Accordingly, he has written a detailed *psychobiographie* in order to trace "la transformation d'une personnalité qui, à partir d'un déséquilibre, parvient à trouver dans la création un équilibre nouveau" (I,20). Gide, who once blamed La Bruyère for portraying men without telling how they had become what they were, strove to achieve that very third dimension in the self-portrait of *Si le grain ne meurt*. . . . But he wrote those memoirs in his fifties when he had already, unintentionally or intentionally, forgotten much of what mattered most at the time of the events he was recording. By going back over those memoirs with scrupulous care and confronting them with every unpublished document written at the time, Dr. Delay has succeeded admirably in reconstructing Gide's childhood and youth, telling us more than any other published work, by Gide or others, has ever told us about André Gide—more, indeed, than Gide himself could possibly have known either at the time or in retrospect.

The years covered (from the writer's birth through his marriage to his cousin in late 1895) are precisely those of *Si le grain ne meurt*. . . . The first volume, divided into two parts entitled "Les Origines et l'Enfance" and "L'Adolescence," carries Gide through the publication of *Les Cahiers d'André Walter*. Here the original sources are chiefly Gide's unpublished notes for his memoirs, far more detailed than the finished work we know, the precious "Cahier de lectures" in which Gide listed his juvenile readings with critical comments (this should certainly be published integrally some day), and the revealing correspondence with his mother that began in 1890. The second volume, divided into "La Période de Transition" and "La Transformation," begins with young André Walter's participation in the symbolist cénacles and continues with the first trip to North Africa, the prolonged crisis of 1895, the mother's death, and Gide's marriage. Here the same original sources prove increasingly valuable and the unpublished documents become more numerous: Gide's letters to his

cousins Jeanne Rondeaux and Albert Démarest, the correspondence of Anna Shackleton and most revealing letters from the economist uncle Charles Gide, the young writer's letters to Louÿs, Valéry, Marcel Drouin, and Maurice Quillot and his exchange with Mallarmé (from the Mondor and Doucet collections), and even a significant letter from the mother's maid Marie after Mme Paul Gide's death. But always—despite the inestimable value of every page written by Madeleine Rondeaux which Jean Schlumberger had already revealed to the world in his *Madeleine et André Gide* (1956)—the capital document is Gide's incredibly full correspondence with his mother extending from May 1890 until her death in May 1895. He did not keep every one of her daily letters, but she preserved all of his, dating and often annotating them.

Quite rightly, everyone connected with André Gide made available to Dr. Delay every item of possible interest. Yet, his long and masterful study by no means owes its value entirely to the mass of unpublished material it contains, for he has shown great skill in combining and interpreting that material.¹ As might be expected, the highly trained and mature specialist in mental ills and human behavior has avoided all the pitfalls of pseudo-psychologizing and spurious analysis to which literary historians and critics have all too frequently accustomed us. In these detailed diagnoses of Gide's anomalous conduct and emotions one constantly recognizes the authority of the medical doctor.

By portraying the mother's very austere influence and Gide's anxiety-ridden childhood seeking escape (somewhat as Proust's did) into malady, Dr. Delay leads up to the first literary work, which he convincingly presents as a searching self-analysis resulting in catharsis. Meanwhile, he carefully lays the groundwork for a correct image of Gide, hitherto rather neglected by critics, as a man of letters living exclusively for his work (I,474; II,259,492,642,652). But as this study progresses it gains in interest² partly because the effect is necessarily cumulative and partly because the crucial period in Gide's evolution comes between 1893 and the end of 1895. The whole treatment of the relations between Gide and Oscar Wilde (II,128-47,447-64) is most sensitive and perceptive,³ as is that of the growing identification in Gide's mind of his cousin Madeleine with the image of his mother (I,512-15; II,578,580), and that of the way in which Madeleine gradually became Alissa (I,502-503; II,32). Indeed, scholarly deductions and brilliant intuitions mark Dr. Delay's writing so frequently that it would be impossible to list them all; this, for instance, is what he says of the gratuitous act: "Gide a souffert toute sa vie de son absence de spontanéité jusqu'à faire l'apologie de l'acte gratuit, c'est-à-dire l'impulsion, audace des timides, volition des irrésolus, tentation des analystes" (I,590; cf. I,280-81; II, 412-13,630). On the other hand, the paucity of slips and blemishes in a work

1. The only documents which might perhaps have deserved greater emphasis are the two letters from Mme Charles Gide to André Gide's mother in the Spring of 1895 (II, 495-96).

2. And also sins increasingly through repetition because of a tendency to remind the reader of quotations and arguments used earlier.

3. We are told that Gide did not read *The Picture of Dorian Gray* until June 1895, but some might be even more interested in learning when he read *Intentions*, which offers so many parallels to his own critical ideas.

of 1272 pages is an almost unheard-of evidence of the author's attention to detail.⁴

In short, literary scholarship owes a debt of gratitude to this distinguished specialist from another discipline for solving once and for all the mystery of André Gide's formation. Henceforth any proper library of studies devoted to Gide must begin with the two volumes of *La Jeunesse d'André Gide*, whatever else it may contain. Surely it was with this in mind that the Académie Française recently elected Dr. Jean Delay to membership in its august ranks as occupant of a chair that had once belonged to Dr. Littré and to Dr. Cabanis. (JUSTIN O'BRIEN, *Columbia University*)

Trois Essais sur Paul Valéry. Par Lucienne Julien Cain. Paris: Gallimard, 1958. Pp. 193. Mme Cain, whose husband is head of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has here added a long third essay, "L'Utilisation du monde sensible," to two others previously published: "L'Être vivant selon Valéry" (*La Nef*, March 1946) and "Edgar Poe et Valéry" (*Mercure de France*, May 1950). This volume plainly establishes Mme Cain's special authority. She had the advantage not only of knowing Valéry well personally but of working with him during his last years at the important and, as it turned out, impossible task of classifying the ideas in his voluminous *Cahiers*. From her collaboration on this essential part of Valéry's work, then unknown to the public, Mme Cain derived an insight into his main preoccupations and a point of view on his whole production which were, and remain, almost unique. I was persuaded some years ago when I first read her "L'Être vivant . . ." that she saw an almost unknown Valéry who would eventually have to emerge as something like the true figure.

The long essay which now completes her portrait, as I take it, adds much interesting detail and at least one important idea, implied in her title "L'Utilisation du monde sensible." The idea is that Valéry's central aim was an inner mastery of the sensible world by two means, ideas and poetry, which he was able to use alternately and equally well. Here is her own version:

[...] pour trouver la solution, c'est moins à un aspect déterminé de la poésie ou de la recherche spéculative qu'à leur *alternance* qu'il faudra périodiquement revenir, à ce seuil qui mène de l'une à l'autre et que le poète franchira plusieurs fois dans les deux sens, avec les mêmes instruments, sans que ce changement de direction puisse s'expliquer par une autre cause que par le souci de consumer en soi la possibilité des choses, afin qu'à l'issue de l'opération il ne demeure aucun reste, aucune scorie. (p. 34)

Mme Cain's book as a whole is less convincing than the earlier essay led us to expect. Fascinating and intelligent as the book surely is, Valéry's "système de l'être vivant" fails to emerge into view. Many of his ideas are there, but not the system. I would suggest that one difficulty is in the effort to derive the

4. Misprints, such as "Marc de Lanux" (I, 405) elsewhere given correctly, "*La Wallonnie*" (I, 420), "chrétien de Troyes" (I, 507), and "Saint-Beuve" (I, 591), are easily corrected, as is the misquotation of the Bible on II, 552 and the dates "novembre 1892—mars 1893" on I, 137 for the first stay in Biskra. But describing Gide's famous laconic reply "Hugo, hélas!" as having been made to the question "quel était à son avis le plus grand poète français" simply reproduces a popular misconception (I, 312); the question asked by *L'Ermitage* in February 1902 (XXIII, 81-82) was rather: "Quel est votre poète? Il s'agit, bien entendu, du XIX^e siècle."

system in part from the poems. Valéry is both a metaphysician and a poet, and his metaphysics may help to illuminate his poems, but hardly vice versa. His system is probably not derivable even from the whole of his published work before the *Cahiers*, and surely not from the poems.

A minor complaint: I find that these essays are difficult reading, not in the way that Valéry, for instance, is at first difficult, but from something like strain and overloading: forcing insights out of unmanageable data, and bringing to bear an astonishing erudition that, for me at least, is not always apposite—the hazard of too much learning.

But whatever the complaints that may be brought against this collection of essays, our debt to Mme Cain is considerable and later on will be more obvious. This is an essential if not a definitive study. (JACKSON MATHEWS, *New York City*)

La Comparaison. Son emploi dans "Gaspard des Montagnes" d'Henri Pourrat. Par Willy Bal. Studia universitatis "Lovanium," Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres No. 4. Léopoldville, 1958. Pp. 59+table. This slim volume, the first from Lovanium University in the Belgian Congo to deal with a contemporary French writer, is not so much a literary study of metaphor as a pretext for the author to theorize concerning the "linguistic" significance of the images chosen by Pourrat. The references most frequently cited make this amply clear—Bally, Bruneau, Dauzat, Marouzeau.

Bal has written a more general study on Pourrat, of which the present volume seems to be an off-shoot.¹ Hence such an analysis of a writer whose style is certainly not fundamentally metaphorical. Considering his interest in folklore and regionalism, one would indeed expect his similes to reflect the proverbial, usually faded comparisons of the speech of the common people. This is, in fact, borne out by a cursory examination of the repertory in the appendix to the volume. *Blanche comme la neige*, *Plus fin que le renard*, *Noir comme dans un four*, *Sourd comme un pot* and many others are apparently considered just as significant in their use as more original images, few though they are.

Bal limits his study to similes (p. 5) and he sees in their use not an esthetic but a purely linguistic phenomenon (pp. 9, 12). He denies that the use of proverbial comparisons indicates poverty of invention if the writer realized fully the significance of his images (p. 17) or also created new ones (p. 14). He condemns only fossilized comparisons (*Plus furieusement que jamais*, *Plus demoiselle que pas une*) of which he finds three in *Gaspard des Montagnes*; but it is certainly debatable whether such expressions should even be called comparisons in the ordinary sense.

In analyzing comparisons, Bal first subdivides similes according to whether they re-inforce an adjective, an adverb (or an adjective derived from a verb) or a verb. He distinguishes between comparisons of intensity and those of manner. This results in a rather complicated and subtle system where, for example, "L'autre [...] tremblait ainsi qu'un jonc dans l'eau" and "Marguerite regarda Jeuselou tremblant comme la feuille" are both listed under the verb *trembler*.

Bal's repertory of comparisons is incomplete, since even a superficial *sondage*

1. Willy Bal, *Henri Pourrat, essayiste*, Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1954.

revealed two not included in his list: "De cette fenièrre où il s'était coulé, comme un roulant qui prend gîte sans en demander congé,"² "Elle [...] ne marchait qu'à petits pas, comme une chèvre."³

When it comes to stylistics, Bal has some penetrating remarks to make:

Les limites que ne peut franchir le langage conceptuel, l'image les franchit; adhérent encore par de larges zones à la réalité vivante, elle en conserve en grande partie la richesse et la complexité. Elle seule peut nous donner une vue synthétique, unifiante de ces "peuples mal dénombrés" que sont les réalités tant sensibles qu'intérieures. (p. 37)

L'image poétique serait faite proprement du rapprochement d'objets aussi hétérogènes que possible, entre lesquels la ressemblance ne peut être que lointaine mais profonde, essentielle, sous peine de rejoindre l'image saillie, frappante mais a-poétique, dont nous avons dit qu'elle se fondait sur une ressemblance éloignée et superficielle. (p. 38)

It is a pity, however, that Pourrat's work is such a poor vehicle for illustrating such comments. (VICTOR E. GRAHAM, *University of Toronto*)

Camus. By Germaine Brée. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959. Pp. x+275. The publication of this book is a most opportune event. It affords the student of French literature, as well as the general reader for whom it is also intended, a highly authoritative assessment of Camus' literary production at a time when the perhaps premature Nobel Prize winner is about to undertake what many readers hope will be the most significant portion of his work: it is "a critical study of a living writer, [...] still in mid-career, [...]" (p. vii). Such a study, one hardly needs to emphasize, can in no way be considered definitive: its importance resides in the fact that it clears the air of much of the foggy and hasty comment that has often in the past obscured the significance of Camus' message, and also corrects or supplements the two serious studies previously published in England by Philip Thody and in this country by Thomas Hanna. To date, it is the best volume on Camus either in English or in French.

Germaine Brée's basic contention is that, although he is quite obviously a philosopher—in the non-technical sense—and a moralist, "Camus is first and foremost an artist" (p. 9). Furthermore, the emotional basis of Camus' intellectual investigations is highlighted by the quotation that opens the very first chapter: "La peine des hommes est un sujet si grand qu'il semble que personne ne saurait y toucher..." (p. 3). It is the discovery that ours is a world in which children suffer and die that has, in addition to his own confrontation with illness and death, determined the unfolding of Camus' creative acts.

It is thus that Germaine Brée securely anchors her initial chapter to this concept of the artist's facing the problems, both fundamental and practical, of Good and Evil; she then guides her reader through the development process of Camus' thought and art with the fine intuition and sound critical judgment she has accustomed us to expect.

Of her twenty-four brief chapters, five present an outline of Camus' life up

2. Henri Pourrat, *Les Vaillances, farces et aventures de Gaspard des Montagnes*, édition définitive, Paris: Albin Michel (1951), p. 336.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

to 1957; leaving out one introductory and one concluding chapter, the remaining seventeen deal with his works—including *L'Exil et le royaume* but excluding *Actuelles III* and the new version of *Caligula*; a bibliography follows, listing works by Camus, French and English-language books about him, and English-language articles (the latter list is somewhat spotty and omits articles by Haskell M. Bloch, Jean Bloch-Michel [this one is quoted from on page 242], John Cruickshank, F. C. St. Aubyn, Philip Thody, and Germaine Brée herself [!], all published before December of 1957, and presumably before the book was in print); finally, a cross-referenced index is included, very useful except for the confusing transliteration of several Russian names.¹

In treating Camus' works, Germaine Brée begins with the unpublished novel *La Mort heureuse*. As she is not writing exclusively for a scholarly audience, only those essential elements of plot and meaning are presented that are necessary for a better understanding of its author. The specialist can only hope that a more detailed study of this youthful work will be forthcoming. After taking up his first two published books, *L'Envers et l'endroit* and *Noces* (which belong to that category of his writings I should call "passionate"), Professor Brée examines his "Cautionary Tales" (that is the title of chapter ten): included here are *L'Etranger*, *La Peste*, *La Chute*, and *L'Exil et le royaume*. These are examined within the framework of six chapters—the core of the book. The dramatic works are treated separately. While there is justification for separating the two genres, the three chapters she devotes to the theater somehow appear as a pause or a transition before the five chapters that analyze the essays of *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, *L'Homme révolté*, and *L'Été*.

Germaine Brée's critical method is quite remarkable in that it provides a perfect example of what has been called "la soumission à l'objet"—a critical study patterned after the very object under scrutiny. Just as Camus takes up one aspect of man, one theme, or one tendency, pursues it to a given point, takes up another, and a third before coming back to the first, constantly increasing his (and our) knowledge of the world and of man in the process ("je me dédis, je me répète, j'avance et je recule" [quoted on page 91], Professor Brée considers his works first from one angle, then from another; she examines one work briefly, sets it aside while considering several others in succession, returns to the first, and so on until the reader has gained an enlightened and coherent insight into them all.

Thus, while studying Camus' fiction, Germaine Brée tells briefly what each book is about and how it came into being; a subsequent chapter gives the plot of each novel or tale; next are shown the relationships between the artistic devices used in each work and its basic theme; finally, each work yields its hero

1. The French transliteration of Russian names is often, though not consistently, used. While this is not really confusing when differences between French and English usage do not involve initial letters, as in the case of Sazonov who appears as "Sazonov," it is disconcerting for one looking for Shestov to find him listed as "Chestov" and Shigalyov as "Chigalev."

One should also note that on page 220 an unfortunate juxtaposition of names conveys the impression that Shigalyov, a character in Dostoevski's *The Possessed*, is a real person.

whose actions, when seen against the background of the preceding chapters, bring out the significance of the parable told by Camus. Fascinating to read and highly provocative, it does not leave the reader with the false impression that now, at last, he has understood Camus: rather, it enables him to achieve a sort of identification with Camus—who does not claim to understand the world—and turns him, too, into a seeker. (LEON S. ROUDIEZ, *Columbia University*)

The Tongues of Italy. By Ernst Pulgram. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xi+465. Italy is one of the regions whose attested linguistic history is longest and most nearly continuous, second perhaps only to those of Greece and India. Unfortunately, the traditional division of scholarship into classical and Romance studies has led to a segmentation of Italian linguistic history, with classicists usually limiting their work to the earlier period, and Romance scholars to the later. Only a few—among whom Pulgram is outstanding—have combined the two fields. A treatment of the linguistic history of Italy as a whole has been long overdue, and we are grateful to Pulgram for having given us at least this initial survey.

The arrangement of the work is somewhat peculiar. One can, in a historical discussion, proceed either forward from the beginning or backward from the end (in this case, the present). Pulgram follows neither of these procedures completely. *The Tongues of Italy* is divided into four "books," each subdivided into two "parts," and containing altogether twenty-nine chapters. Book One is on "Modern Italy" (pp. 5-67), and its two subdivisions are "Introduction to Italy" (pp. 7-41), with four chapters on land (pp. 7-20), climate (pp. 21-26), people (pp. 27-53) and economic structure ("Wealth and Poverty," pp. 34-41); and "The Italian Language" (pp. 43-67), with "The Dialects of Italy" (pp. 45-53) and "The Italian Standard Language" (pp. 55-67). After this Horatian plunge *in medias res*, giving us a picture of the Italian situation in general, and linguistically since the medieval period but especially in post-Renaissance times, Pulgram takes us back to prehistoric Italy. The next book and a half deal primarily with archaeology and history, only incidentally with language. "Book Two: Pre-Roman Italy" (pp. 69-236) has the two parts "Prehistoric Background" (pp. 71-136, with six chapters) and "The Indo-Europeanization of Italy" (pp. 137-236, again with six chapters).

The two parts of "Book Three: Roman Italy" (pp. 237-362) deal with "The Latinization of Italy" (pp. 239-87; three chapters and two appendices) and "The History of Latin" (pp. 289-362). In this latter part we return to relatively linguistically-oriented discussion, consisting of four chapters: "Historic background, 200 B.C.—A.D. 300" (pp. 291-310), "Spoken and Written Latin" (pp. 311-23), "The Dialects of Spoken Latin" (pp. 324-43) and "The Literary Language" (pp. 344-62). The final book, "Medieval Italy" (pp. 363-427) deals in its two parts with "The Abortive Germanization of Italy" (pp. 363-88) and "The Italianization of Italy" (pp. 389-427); each of these parts contains a chapter on historical background (pp. 365-74 and 391-401) and one on linguistic history ("Germanic Dialects in Italy," pp. 375-88, and "From Latin to Italian," pp. 402-27). This brings us down to Dantean times, where we came

in. The work is concluded by an extensive bibliography (pp. 421-53), whose divisions are correlated with the eight "parts" of the book, and by two indices, of subjects (pp. 457-59) and names (pp. 460-65). The book has five well-drawn line maps at appropriate points: two of linguistic and three of non-linguistic phenomena, and two of modern and three of ancient Italy.

Pulgram's presentation of the subject-matter is clear, urbane and interesting. As usual, he brings common sense to bear on the problems involved, a method which (provided "common sense" is intelligent) brings clarification to hitherto confused issues. This is especially true of the prehistoric movements of ethnic groups and languages, which have too often been treated as necessarily correlated. Pulgram reacts strongly and, on the whole, justifiably against the unfounded assumption that the prehistoric settlement of Italy was carried out wholly by mass migration of the *Völkerwanderung* type. As a result of his healthy skepticism on this and other points (e.g. the tenuous identification often resorted to on the basis of scantily attested names), Pulgram prunes away a great deal of the overly dogmatic speculation which usually encrusts accounts of prehistoric linguistic movements in Italy. His discussion of the relation between Latin and Romance languages is likewise fundamentally sound, especially as a reaction against the naïve speculation of H. F. Muller and his disciples, which is based essentially on a misunderstanding of the relation between speech and writing.

However, in a work with the title *The Tongues of Italy* and with the divisions indicated above, the reader might reasonably expect to find treatment of linguistic phenomena, with fairly extensive citation of forms and discussion of such structure as attested materials show. But in this book, except for names, very few linguistic forms are cited, and there is no discussion of structure; in fact, before reading this book, I had no idea that it was possible to discuss linguistic topics so extensively while saying practically nothing about language itself. Of the twenty-nine chapters of the book, only six (totalling 85 pages) deal in any way directly with linguistic phenomena, and another seven (totalling 116 pages) do so indirectly. The two middle "books," treating of ancient times, take up 292 out of the 417 pages of text, or nearly two thirds. In this stew, the gravy is plentiful, quite warm and tasty, but there is very little linguistic meat (cf. *Language*, XXXII [1956], 330). This book is an excellent exemplification of what I have pointed out elsewhere (*Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXIX [1953], 42-44), that the title likely to sell the most copies of a book is not necessarily the one most indicative of its contents. In this case, "The Historical and Archaeological Background of Linguistic Development in Italy" would have been a more accurate title, and would have given a better indication of the use to which the book can be put as an accessory, but not a principal text. (ROBERT A. HALL, JR., *Cornell University*)

